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BY- NORDSTROM, CARL AND OTHERS
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THE INFLUENCE OF ATTITUDES OF "RESSENTIMENT" ON SECONDARY SCHOOLS AND THEIR STUDENTS WAS ASSESSED. (THE TERM "RESSENTIMENT" WAS USED TO REFER TO A KIND OF FREE-FLOATING ILL-TEMPER THAT IS PART OF THE SYNDROME PRODUCED BY HOSTILITY REPRESSED OVER LONG PERIODS OF ADULT LIFE, AND WHICH IS CHARACTERIZED BY FEELINGS OF SEVERE AND PERVASIVE IMPOTENCE AND A HIGH DEGREE OF EMOTIONAL CONSTRICTION.) IT WAS HYPOTHESIZED THAT PUBLIC EDUCATION IS ONE OF THE SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS MOST STRONGLY AFFECTED BY "RESSENTIMENT", AND THAT THIS IS A MAJOR FACTOR IN MAKING IT HOSTILE TO CREATIVE YOUNGSTERS AND THEIR POTENTIAL GIFTS. SEVERAL HUNDRED STUDENTS FROM PUBLIC AND INDEPENDENT SCHOOLS WERE ADMINISTERED NUMEROUS ITEMS DESIGNED TO LOCATE AND DESCRIBE THE EFFECTS OF "RESSENTIMENT" PRACTICES AND ATTITUDES. THE RESULTING DATA WERE USED FOR PLACING THE MAJORITY OF THE PARTICIPANTS INTO TWO BROAD, RESIDUAL CATEGORIES--(1) THE "CONVENTIONALS," OR THOSE STUDENTS WHO GENERALLY ACCEPT THE CONVENTIONS OF THEIR INSTITUTION AND EXHIBIT BEHAVIOR PATTERNS INDICATIVE OF RESIGNATION, AND (2) THE "ADOLESCENTS," OR THOSE WHOSE PRIMARY CONCERN IS WITH THE MEANING OF THEIR OWN IDENTITY AS THEY DEVELOP IN THE SCHOOL SETTING. BASED ON THESE CATEGORICAL CHARACTERISTICS, IT WAS POSSIBLE TO DETERMINE, TO A LIMITED EXTENT, THE PREDOMINANCE OF "RESSENTIMENT" IN THE PARTICULAR SCHOOLS SURVEYED. (JH)

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INFLUENCE OF *RESSENTIMENT* ON STUDENT EXPERIENCE IN SECONDARY SCHOOL

COOPERATIVE RESEARCH PROJECT NO.1758

CARL NORDSTROM
Department of Economics, Brooklyn College

EDGAR Z. FRIEDENBERG
Department of Sociology, University of California - Davis

HILARY A. GOLD
Department of Education, Brooklyn College

BROOKLYN COLLEGE
Brooklyn, New York
1965

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DEDICATION

Out of respect for their generous cooperation and support, the authors dedicate this report to the nine anonymous secondary schools described herein.

Through devotion to the spirit of scientific inquiry, Parma, Hartsburgh, Milgrim, Martingale, Caddo, Delphi, Havencrest, Ipswich, and St. Elmo - their pseudonyms - cooperated magnificently over the course of the study. This, we think, is certainly a recommendation for them as schools that are serious about education and are concerned about its impact on their students. It is our impression that these nine schools are among the finest secondary schools in the United States. They have proved this through their willingness to undergo such an intensive examination by independent investigators. For our part, we have attempted to be entirely candid, calling our shots as we found them. We hope that the findings herein will lead towards an increasing understanding of the predicament of our young people when in school and to greater wisdom on the part of those responsible for their education.

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Part I
The Problem

A. PROBLEM ON WHICH THE RESEARCH WAS FOCUSED

The existence of any social system implies the existence of an institutional press founded on that system. This press is the unique set of modes by which the system seeks to condition the participant individual, to bend him to its demands. As far as the individual is concerned, it is ubiquitous in and inseparable from the system itself, for, in fact, it is the totality of ways by which the individual comes into contact with the system. In its impositions the press can be direct or subtle, it can be friendly, even heartwarming, or, should this be necessary, it can be cruel. Operating through existing prescriptions and procedures, and experienced as an alien force or internalized as super-ego direction, the press makes itself felt and expresses the system's claim to authority over the individual. And, to the degree that an individual participating in that system bends and adjusts, or say, arranges his actions in terms of the pressures of the system, such a press cooperates in the making of his character, in forcing him along some unique path towards that which signifies or distinguishes him.

Of course, relationships between an individual and the presses he encounters are never simple or one-directional, even under the most fierce tyranny. They are instead dialectical, because the individual also brings to any specific situation his own history, his own hopes and griefs, the values he has forged out of encounters with other presses, and even a leavening residue of simple confusion. There is no monotonic process of intimidation, and the press is only one arm of a single dialectic abstracted from the process of living. In any event, however, a press must have its effects, as the individual accomodates himself to it in some unique way. Such acts of accomodation, whatever they may be - positive, negative, exasperated, generous - become a part of his experience, his history, adjustments to and expressions of his value system, lessons to be remembered, and, in short, further material for that out of which his character forms.

A school, no matter how constituted and for whatever intention, is a social system. Thus, it builds character. This is because the school as a social system must have its own correlative institutional press. It pressures individuals participating in its system, through its administrative dicta, through the practice of its teachers and the activities of its students, through its rewards and punishments and the feelings they evoke, in all, through the totality of roles it demands or denies, accepts or rejects, validates or ignores, whether they are recognized as being official or are not. These pressures operate on the individuals participating in the institution and, for better or for worse, reified as an institutional press, they operate to form character.

So far, what has been said is very general; the presses are there, each seems to have a will of its own, they can reward or punish, and unless one can escape, which in itself is a kind of accomodation, one must learn to cope with the presses, which must often seem to the very young to be the Furies themselves. In a many dimensioned society such as ours, with the individual centered in a family, a set of relatives, a neighborhood, a peer group, a school, and a nation, there are as many institutional presses as there are discrete systems, and more often the systems are all jumbled together in agreement and contradiction and are experienced as such. All have their effects in respect to a single individual and all are both conditioning and conditioned by him. The pressures imposed may also differ in intensity, and in quality, for sometimes a specific set of pressures seem to express a certain dominating spirit or mood. This occurs when there is a congruence between the personal needs of those who carry authority and the procedures and prescriptions which are deemed acceptable as channels through which authority can be expressed. Further, one must keep in mind that the carrier can be the individual himself through super-ego functioning.

One such qualitatively distinct mood functioning as an integral part of certain institutional presses is *Ressentiment*, a phenomenon first identified by Nietzsche in *The Genealogy of Morals* and then further elaborated by the German phenomenologist and philosopher Max Scheler in a work devoted in its entirety to it.[1] In this work, Scheler develops the phenomenology and sociology of *Ressentiment* with great care and then relates it to morality and value judgements as they appear in the modern (c. 1915) world. Following Scheler, but restating his somewhat elusive demonstration of *ressentient* characteristics in operational terms, we define *Ressentiment* in persons as operative to the degree that it can be demonstrated that an individual feels an oppressive sense of impotence which he has come to accept as an unchanging part of his place in the world. To allay the tension aroused by this impotence - which he cannot imagine actively transcending - the ressentient individual devalues what Scheler calls "vital values" in others. Such vital values are those promoting well-being, health, beauty, freedom; and these are either denied as valueless, ignored, or replaced by values derived from weakness or fear. Morality is seen as essentially negative and defensive, and is based on a distrust of men and of the actions that particularize men. Jean-Paul Sartre, in *Being and Nothingness*, describes "men of *Ressentiment*" as individuals who in their very subjectivity "establish their human personality as a perpetual negation."[2] By this he means that they cannot bring the other into focus as an individual when dealing with him; instead they, the men of *Ressentiment*, must throw him back out of focus into abstract generalities, categories such as man, or student, or delinquent, or youth - the same categories from which he emerged in his individuality when he came into focus. In its simplest form *Ressentiment* can be seen as a necessary system of precautions taken by individuals who find themselves in a universe which they deem to be hostile and against which they cannot stand directly in their own individuality. This is due to their awareness of their impotence.

In institutions, *Ressentiment* will be said to be operative to the degree that it can be demonstrated that the standard operating prescriptions and procedures of the institution reflect this same denial or replacement of "vital values" by a defensive and cautionary posture that meets environmental challenges in a distinctive spirit of disguised rancour and distrust. Institutional arrangements will be regarded as *ressentient* to the degree that they are designed to facilitate external control of impulsive behavior in individuals at the expense of disciplined self-expression, and to minimize opportunities for demonstration of specific personal excellence.

The general purpose of this study is to assess the influence of *Ressentiment* on secondary schools and their students. In its course we seek to provide a comprehensive test of the proposition that *Ressentiment* is an ingredient in the institutional press of high schools and that as such it promotes a social climate in which young people are distracted from the active development of a vigorous, expressive personal style. By this we mean that *Ressentiment* operates to stifle enthusiasm, to undermine fortitude, and to discourage the development of self mastery on the part of the students. In effect, we maintain that this particular component of an institutional press, to the degree it is present, creates pressures favoring the development of docile, insipid and lumpish ways in the young as against what used to be called in the old days a strong and forceful character.[3] Good judgement, is also jeopardized, for correlary to the stultifying effects encouraged by a press permeated with *Ressentiment*, is the further implication that it encourages anomic[4] revolt when the individual chooses hostility as the manner of his accomodation to the press. For *Ressentiment*, as described by Scheler, is as difficult to fight as it is insidious when endured.

B. OBJECTIVES AND HYPOTHESES

We began this study presuming that *Ressentiment* was an important element in the institutional press of secondary schools, that it differs in richness and in scope from school to school, and that it has the unwholesome consequences mentioned above. If we are correct in our presumption it is clearly important that its presence be made known. As described,

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[1] Max Scheler, *Ressentiment*, translated from the German by William W. Holdheim with an introduction by Lewis A. Coser. The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961.

[2] Jean-Paul Sartre, *Being and Nothingness*, p. 47, translated with an introduction by Hazel E. Barnes. New York, Philosophical Library, 1956.

[3] John Dewey, *Moral Principles in Education*. New York, The Wisdom Library, 1959. cf pp 49-50.

[4] David Riesman's use of the term, not Durkheim's. Cf. pp 240-249, David Riesman, with Nathan Glazer and Reuel Denney, *The Lonely Crowd*. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1961. Abridged edition.

Ressentiment interferes directly with the very purposes of education. This is not only true in general, for education as a whole, but also specifically, as the schools see themselves. Parma, for example, one of the high schools participating in this study, includes in its student handbook the following quotation from former President Cole of Amherst College:

> "Education is not something that is done for a student or to a student. It is no laying on of hands, no putting on of robes, no pouring in of information. Education is what the student does himself in the way of developing his own powers. Teachers can help; so can a curriculum and an atmosphere of devotion to things of the mind. But ultimately the problem is utterly the student's."

These are fine sentiments, committed to the development of a strong and forceful character, and are probably close to what most educators and laymen would accept as worthy ideals for education. But can they be implemented? Can the schools help, through teaching, to free the spirit so that it can soar?

We think that it may be that they cannot, that through the operation of the institutional press what is actually taught is destructive to the development of freedom, in spirit and in thought. And it is this we are looking into in this study of Ressentiment. What we seek to determine is whether there may not be an unrecognized process, unintended even, as the example taken from the Parma handbook quoted above suggests, by which the schools as institutional presses actually do something to a student, and that in this doing, they seriously interfere with the very development of strength and vitality in the young people given to their charge.

To test this Ressentiment proposition, we operated as follows. First, we decided that we needed to know to what extent Ressentiment, to the degree that it can be measured, was a component of the institutional press of the schools investigated. We assumed that schools would differ in terms of this Ressentiment component, and that such differences would be reflected in their students. Actually, it is impossible to measure Ressentiment directly. Although the rules and practices of an institution may be such as to facilitate Ressentiment, it exists, most precisely, in interpersonal relationships, in the way these rules and practices are applied, and even, in the response to that application. Thus we can only approach the phenomena obliquely, at this level of examination, and measure instead Ressentiment as perceived by the students and their teachers and counsellors. To provide an objective measure of the Ressentiment component of the press as perceived, we (in this case Friedenberg and Nordstrom) constructed a characteristics index of 75 items modeled after the High School Characteristics Index developed by Stern[5] and focused specifically on ressentient practices and attitudes. A copy of this instrument, together with its key and results, is included as Appendix A to this document.

With Scheler's delineation of Ressentiment in mind we each wrote approximately forty items, and then edited the other's work. This is in keeping with a fundamental principle of our method, which we term task independence. Recognizing our differences as persons to begin with, and along with this, that in pursuing the project we have different interests, aspirations, and levels of comprehension, we define our project as a series of separate tasks, then work independently, and finally cross-check our efforts against each other. Such task independence, we feel, introduces an element of objectivity into the research, and can be used effectively in a variety of ways. Ressentiment is a treacherous and contention producing concept in its very being and needs to be handled carefully if it is not to generate confusion.

To check our original instrument, and to provide us with further information about the schools, we drew from the standard Stern High School Characteristics Index[6] ninety items which the students were also asked to answer according to the directions given. These were items 91 through 180 of the Index. These specific items were chosen for inclusion for three reasons: (1) they were a series which included a large number of items bearing directly on Ressentiment; (2) they included three sets of thirty items each, classified according to Stern's technical application of the familiar needs-press categories of H. A. Murray; and (3) they fit conveniently into the examination protocol. To choose the items bearing on Ressentiment, we each answered the Stern index in its totality, responding as if we had set out to impose a ressentient institutional press on a conventional high school. Professor Gold joined us in this effort. We found in the 90 items sixty which the three of us agreed could be keyed either true or false, as clearly representing ressentient characteristics or the obverse.[7]

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[5] George Stern, Psychological Research Center, Syracuse University, 1958.

[6] Ibid.

[7] This instrument is in general use in assessing schools; confidentiality as to its contents is necessary. Professionally qualified persons can obtain copies of the instrument from the Psychological Research Center, Syracuse University. The key for the 60 items deemed Ressentient can be found at the end of Appendix A.

By means of these two indexes of high school characteristics, the one constructed by Friedenberg-Nordstrom, hereafter called F-N R Characteristics Index, and the other constructed from the Stern Index, hereafter called Stern R Characteristics Index, we then seek to measure the Ressentiment component, as perceived by students and teachers, in the secondary schools studied.

Professor Gold's role in the study is another example of task independence. Gold was brought into the study to operate as an independent evaluator, as another perceptor operating from a different location. His assigned task is to assess the institutional press in terms of Ressentiment using means other than the instruments already devised. He had available, of course, the standard Stern scores on the portions of the Characteristics Index utilized. In addition, he utilized two simple projective instruments. They are (1) an assignment to the subject to design an ideal social studies class room (hereafter known as the Non-Verbal Perception Test); and (2) an assignment to describe briefly the best thing that has ever happened in High School and the worst thing that has ever happened in High School (hereafter known together as the Best-Thing-Worst-Thing Test). The actual instructions are included in Appendix A. Professor Gold also observed classes at the schools, made arrangements with the several administrations for the total testing protocol, and collected other information which to him had value in assessing the press of the school. For instance, he collected student handbooks from the schools that had such. At his instigation, a sequence of sixty items from the Stern Activities Index[8] was added to the set of tests measuring school characteristics. As this gave us an opportunity to make a determination about ressentient attitudes on the part of the subjects themselves, we also scored these sixty items for Ressentiment, following the procedure described previously for the Stern R Index. There were twenty-four items on which the three of us agreed that students would seem by their answers clearly to embrace Ressentiment, that is, to give evidence of being ressentient themselves (or the converse). This portion of the Stern tests is hereafter called the Stern R Activities Index, and the special key for it can be found in Appendix A. Gold, for his part, uses the Activities Index in the conventional manner. This entire testing procedure, controlled and administered by Professor Gold, and designed to assess the press of the several schools in terms of Ressentiment, is hereafter termed Phase A of the project.

Given the possibility that we are, through the instruments described, able to measure the extent to which Ressentiment is a component of the institutional press of the schools studied, our second general area of interest is the students themselves and the impact of Ressentiment on their emerging character and value systems. Presumably, differences in the Ressentiment component of the institutional press will lead to differences in the students subjected to the social system on which the press is founded. In general, we expected that the students would express their response to Ressentiment in the press in terms of three dimensions of value orientation, which we have named Conventional, Adolescent, and as a derivative category, *residual.*[9] *They are described as follows:* (1): Conventionals are students who generally accept the conventions of their institution. These students will be predisposed to accept the leadership of institutional authorities, whether formal or informal, adult or peer. They will tend to reduce conflicts to the most stereotyped terms, and to prefer instrumental ends to those concerned with their own vitality and integrity. They will show both a strong desire to please and a low degree of personal emotional involvement in their current situation - the combination often expressing itself as resignation. (2): Adolescents are students whose primary concern is with the meaning of their own identity as they develop it in the school setting. These students will express value preferences favoring circumstances that provide maximum freedom for the development of their personal potential. Their relationship to authority will be provisional, as much demanding as respectful; competent craftsmanship rather than status - in Fromm's terms "rational authority" - will command their approbation. As they seek primarily to establish themselves in a clear relationship with their own feelings as well as with their society, they will give much evidence of being self-absorbed. (3): The residual category will include a heterogeneous aggregate of individuals and small groups distinguished by idiosyncratic value-preferences. Authoritarianism, or consistent and undiscriminating hostility toward all types of authority perceived, or patterns of stereotypy peculiar to particular schools may be among the bases of grouping here, while the range of individual variation in value-preferences that emerge into our residual category will depend on the institutional press characteristics of a particular school.

These are the expectations with respect to categories of value preference with which we began the study, and as such, constitute a hypothesis to be tested. We expected clusters of

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[8] Ibid.

[9] Vide Carl Nordstrom and Edgar Friedenberg, Why Successful Students In the Natural Sciences Abandon Careers in Science (Final Report on Research Project No. 787, U.S. Office of Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare) Brooklyn College, 1961., p. 59 and 60, for the reasons why we assign the names Adolescent and Conventional to such students.

Conventionals and *Adolescents* to be distinguishable at each school and that certain crucial relationships would develop between the data indicating the degree of *Ressentiment* prevailing in the social climate of the school and the fate of particular categories of students in the school. Our objective expectations were: (1) That *Conventionals* would constitute the largest identifiable group in each school. (2) For all students, and for the students of the several schools, taken separately, the objective value preferences of *Conventionals* would most accurately represent the central tendency of value preferences. (3) *Conventionals* will be most representative of sample group value preferences in schools with high *Ressentiment* ratings and least representative in schools with low *Ressentiment* ratings. (4) *Adolescents* will be proportionately most numerous in schools with low *Ressentiment* ratings. (5) The residual category will be proportionately most numerous in schools with high *Ressentiment* ratings. (6) The proportion of *Adolescents* will descend from private schools to public high schools serving a comparatively stable, predominently middle-class clientele, to newly established suburban high schools serving a predominantly middle-class clientele, to a lowest proportion in schools serving highly heterogeneous clientele in a transitional neighborhood, whether urban or suburban. And (7) the proportion of *Adolescents* will be higher in schools without formal provision for guidance service, or in which guidance referrals are normally student-initiated, than in schools with elaborate provision for guidance services and for staff-initiated referrals. For *Conventionals* the converse relationship will hold.

In general, the inference to be drawn would be that schools which are highly *ressentient* encourage students to adapt themselves to institutional roles and procedures. It was then further expected that corellary subjective data would add to the proposition that students threatened by *Ressentiment* will surrender to the "system" and accept its dictates, or will retreat into defensive positions such as open hostility to constituted authority or incompetence. It is out of such attitudes that the students characterized above as *Conventionals* and residuals are formed. Thus, we expected the subjective data to substantiate the inference that *Ressentiment* in schools operates to transform *Adolescents*, by whom we mean young people who are seriously concerned with self understanding and the development of their potentials, into *Conventionals*, by whom we mean role players of some efficiency, or into a residual category which covers a variety of anomic and semi-anomic responses. In this way, it then must follow that *Ressentiment* operates to stultify the student.

To assess the value-preferences prevailing among the students, we have developed a set of six related, forced-choice Q-sort instruments. For each, the student is given an incident to read and then is asked to respond in terms of nine prescribed comments on the incident. He chooses the three he most approves of, and from these, his favorite, then he chooses the three he most deplores and from these the one he deems worst. The incidents increase in complexity from the first to the sixth, and touch on a variety of situations relative to the school. The best way, probably, to comprehend them is to read them in their entirety. They are included as Appendix B to this report.

Two of these incidents were given on each of three different days and followed immediately with an interview in which the respondent was asked to explain his choices. The interviews were as non-directive as possible, taking their theme from the responses given. The location, best through worst, of the nine prescribed responses to each incident for each subject provides us with an objective index of the subject's position on value judgements relative to the other subjects and constitutes the primary source of our objective statements about the subjects. The interviews, for their part, are the primary source of the subjective statements about the school and its students incorporated in this report.

Again, following the principle of task independence mentioned above, we broke our procedure down into separate tasks, by means of which we take advantage of individuality and also can cross check each other's work. We (Friedenberg and Nordstrom) each wrote three of the interviews, one for each of the three days. Friedenberg did all of the interviewing, taping them as he went along. Nordstrom listened to the interviews from the tape, edited the typescript, and annotated them extensively. At the same time he processed the objective data. The data, the annotated typescript of the interviews, and the direct experience of one of the investigators then became the basis for the analysis of the impact of *Ressentiment* on the students responding. Through these means we attempt to determine what kind of young people predominate in the institutional setting - the characteristics of which have been determined independently through the two Characteristics Indexes and the work of the independent evaluator, Professor Gold - and in what direction the young people attending the school are allowed to or encouraged to develop characterologically.

C. RELATED RESEARCH

Research related to the present proposal is quite varied. The studies we see as having most bearing on our project are not generally seen as closely related to one another; a fact which, as far as it goes, does seem to suggest that the present proposal may establish a new context for empirical investigation, regardless of the degree to which its own hypotheses may be confirmed or rejected.

The several issues underlying our assumptions have been treated quite separately by the social scientists who have investigated them. It seems unnecessary to demonstrate the relevance of the most fundamental studies in social psychology, like The Authoritarian Personality[10] to our proposal. Two bodies of work stemming from this classical source are, however, of particular relevance: Bruno Bettelheim and Morris Janowitz's The Dynamics of Prejudice,[11] and the more recent work of Seymour Lipset.[12] Bettelheim and Janowitz establish that what we would call ressentient attitudes are evoked very intensely by severe and prolonged status anxiety, and especially by the experience of downward social mobility into or through lower-middle class. Lipset goes further, maintaining that members of the working class, even if not downward mobile, tend to be more authoritarian and ressentient than members of higher social classes. His position has been challenged by S. M. Miller and Frank Riessman[13], but their picture of working-class attitudes and behavior seems consistent enough with Lipset's. Miller and Riessman, in distinction to Lipset, stress that this behavior is a realistic response to the conditions of working-class life, which is undoubtedly true; but their inference that this makes it situational rather than characterological has no consequences in our study, since high school students would still experience it in much the same way.

Several authors, of quite different viewpoint and using very different procedures, have provided evidence of ressentient behavior in the school itself, though this was not the subject of their investigation. Notable among these are three early papers by Howard S. Becker[14] and two of Jules Henry.[15] Becker's work almost suggests that -- at least for the Chicago public school teacher of a decade ago -- Ressentiment can be a career in itself; while Henry's work is unforgettable for the vivid and detailed specific picture it presents of grotesque forms of ressentient behavior. Both these were, however, concerned with elementary rather than with secondary school.

The most profound analysis of the kind of process by which Ressentiment affects the growth and experience of those who have to live with it in a subordinate position is to be found in a work that does not deal explicitly with either Ressentiment or public education; the brilliant book of scholarly essays, Asylums,[16] by Erving Goffman. Goffman deals with total institutions, and the American High School is clearly a partial one, but the issues with which he is concerned include those basic to this proposal.

The literature cited so far deals with the relationship of what we regard as manifestations of Ressentiment to social class and to institutional patterns, especially of the school, though not systematically. There remains the question of the differential impact of Ressentiment on creative students. This question, as such, has not to our knowledge been previously studied, but the two avenues of research that tend in this direction have been opening up.

The more brilliantly clinical of these is the current research on creativity and the fate of the gifted child in the school. This is an active field, best represented for us by the work of J. W. Getzels and P. W. Jackson.[17] The other avenue is that represented by the growing body of criterion studies of school - generally undergraduate college - environments, undertaken with a view to improving admission procedures by considering characteristics of the prospective school as well as of the prospective student. These studies do not identify the Ressentiment-level as a criterion for study, but they do quite often include variables that would be related to it with a high degree of face-validity. C. Robert Pace and George G. Stern's Criterion Study of College Environments[18] is an example of this sort of analysis at its most sophisticated.

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[10] T. W. Adorno, et. al. The Authoritarian Personality, New York, Harper, 1950.

[11] New York, Harper, 1950.

[12] Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics, Garden City, New York, Doubleday, 1960.

[13] "The Working-Class Subculture: A New View" Social Problems, 1961, 9, pp. 86-97.

[14] "The Career of the Chicago Public School Teacher," American Journal of Sociology, 1952, 57, 470-477; "Social-Class Variations in the Teacher-Pupil Relationship," Journal of Educational Sociology, 1952, 25, 451-65; "The Teacher in the Authority System of the Public School," ibid., 1953, 27, 128-141.

[15] "Working Paper on Creativity." Harvard Educational Review, 1957, 27, pp. 148-155; "Attitude Organization in Elementary School Classrooms," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 1957, 28, pp. 117-133.

[16] Garden City, New York: Doubleday Anchor, 1961.

[17] Creativity and Intelligence, New York: John Wiley & Son 1962.

[18] Syracuse, Psychological Research Center, Syracuse Research Institute, 1958.

More specifically related to our hypotheses, and as far as it goes directly confirmatory of them, is McArthur's[19] comparison of achievement social values and of cognitive styles of Harvard students who had received their secondary education in public schools with students who had attended traditional New England private schools.

What we feel to be distinctive about our research is that it investigates relationships among what have so far been treated as a singularly diverse body of social theory and phenomena, as indicated; and that it does so in the light of a fundamental social concept -- that of Ressentiment -- which began as an idea rather than as an empirical datum or statistical anomaly. American social science is still rather reluctant to begin research with a broad idea, even an idea that has specific and definable empirical implications.

D. PROCEDURE

Nine secondary schools, comprising seven public and two independent schools participated in the study. Generally speaking, they are located in the Eastern sector of the United States. Five of the public schools, namely Parma, Hartsburgh, Milgrim, Martingale, and Caddo, are in or near a major metropolitan area. One of the independent schools, Ipswich, is also in the vicinity of this same metropolis, and the other, St. Elmo, is situated in the core city, itself. Delphi High is located near another major Eastern metropolis, and Havencrest, while at a considerable distance from the other schools, is also on the Eastern seacoast. It is not, however, in the hinterland of a metropolis as the other schools are. These names are, of course, pseudonyms. Except for St. Elmo, which is for boys exclusively, the participating schools are co-educational. Parma, Hartsburgh, Milgrim, Martingale, and Caddo are all in the same state and, thus, are vassels of the same state education department. Delphi and Havencrest are in different states altogether. The two independent schools, Ipswich and St. Elmo, both operate under a religious aegis. Ipswich is nominally Protestant in its orientation and St. Elmo is Catholic. These schools also serve students from families of very different social and economic status and range in location from urban towards rural.

The protocol for the study specified that a sample group consisting of one hundred students and from five to seven teachers be drawn from each participating school. This sample group was to be selected for the purpose of serving as subjects for Phase I of the testing, consisting of a single two hour testing session at which the two R Characteristics Indexes - the F-N and the Stern - the Stern R Activities Index, and the two projective tests prepared by Professor Gold were to be administered. All participation was voluntary on the part of the subjects and all were paid for their work with the project.

In our preliminary discussions with the schools we asked that the students selected as subjects for Phase I be chosen at random -- that every nth name be taken from an alphabetical listing of the total population in grades 10, 11, and 12 in the school. We also asked that the teachers who were to be subjects should, if possible, be chosen from those in policy making positions. In working through this protocol, however, scheduling and other administrative difficulties developed from time to time, and the ideal is only approximated for each school. In all 902 students served as subjects for Phase I of the testing, along with 57 teachers. Tables I-a and I-b, in Appendix C, give relevant details by schools about the subjects for Phase I.

The protocol also specified that a second sample of twenty-five pupils, be drawn from the original sample of 100, and that these pupils be invited to participate in Phase II of the study. Again, to obtain a cross-section of student opinion, the nth name randomizing technique was used. Phase II subjects were expected to undergo three Q-Sort sessions with two episodes to be completed at each session, and with each session scheduled on a different day. During the session, directly following the actual testing, these individuals were also to be interviewed as to the reasons behind the answers they had chosen. Of this group, two students did not complete the series. One school also, Parma, supplied the project with three more subjects than had been specified in the protocol.

In addition, all teachers in Phase I were asked to participate in an abridged Phase II, to the extent of answering one set of Q-Sort tests (Episode III and Episode IV of Appendix B) and of being interviewed thereupon. Again, as before, the ideal was only approximated, as two of the teachers at Caddo did not participate in Phase II.

During the period when data was being collected, the project investigators expanded the sample for Phase II beyond what had been specified by the protocol. Our experiences in the first schools visited led us to question whether an adequate statement by students at odds with conventional opinion in the schools was being developed; the randomly produced cross-section of opinion turned out to be of a massive single mind. So, when it seemed likely to be productive, we added a subject or several to the sample. In doing so we were almost consciously unsystematic. Several times such subjects were nominated by the school itself, especially in cases where teachers or counsellors expressed an interest in how students they personally considered to be "different" would fare on the test. Delphi, for instance, recommended five extra students. In other instances, the project investigators added subjects themselves, choosing from among those whose scores on the R Indexes for Phase I of the testing were either exceptionally high or exceptionally low. Another student, an Ipswich boy, was added when he attacked the project vigorously by means of an open letter on the school bulletin board. When we read his arguments we thought he might have something interesting to say to us. And finally, one young man at Parma, knowing the system, added himself, somewhat surreptitiously, to the sample. Oddly enough, this latter boy, who perceived himself as having a great deal of importance to say, turned out during the testing to be one of the most conventional of all respondents.

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[19] C. McArthur. "Subculture and Personality during the College Years," Journal of Educational Sociology, 1960, p. 33.

In all there are eighteen of these added subjects; whom we call "extras" when we refer to them in the report. Generally the extras enrich the response both through the difference in their response from the statistical norm, and in the rich contrast they provide the random-sample students in interviews. As such, they play an important role in our description of non-conventional students. They do, however, introduce a statistical bias, for the report on the Q-Sort testing tends, through the influence of these extras, to understate the conventionality of the students. In other words, we sought, in choosing our first, randomly generated sample, to develop a cross-sectional response representative of the whole student body. In choosing extras we sought out students who we had reason to think were not conventional and added them arbitrarily to the sample. Both the statistical results and the interviews suggest that we were successful in this effort. Thus, this means that the sample for Phase II is probably less conventional in both its card choices for the Q-Sort and its subjective orientation than the participating schools themselves would be. In all, 245 students, including 18 extras, served as subjects for Phase II of the testing, along with 55 teachers whose participation was abridged as indicated above. Table II-a and II-b, Appendix C give relevant details by schools about the subjects for Phase II.

E. GENERAL FINDINGS

While our procedure for Phase I of the testing and for Professor Gold's independent evaluation requires that each of the participating schools be considered as an entity, it being our object to relate student value judgement to specific environments, the information generated also allows for some observations about student and teacher perceptions of the high school press as related to Ressentiment in general. There are certain consistencies which transcend individual boundaries, and it is these we will report now. The separate schools themselves will be taken up in series in Part II, and will there be presented as unique institutional presses.

The standard item in the Characteristics Index, whether the F-N or the Stern, is an affirmative statement which the respondent is asked to score as true if:

> you think the statement is generally TRUE or characteristic of your high school, is something which occurs or might occur, in the way people tend to feel or act.

and false:

> when you think the statement is generally FALSE or not characteristic of your high school, is something which is not likely to occur, is not the way people typically feel or act.[20]

For example, Item #45 from the F-N R Characteristics Index states: You have to be concerned about marks here, that is, if you are going to get anywhere and be anything. This answer is keyed true, in terms of Ressentiment, in that, to the degree that this phenomenon is characteristic of the institutional press, the individual is encouraged to recognize his achievement in terms of an abstract position relative to his fellows, rather than in terms of some intrinsic merit related to his own effort. The grades also define both his worth for himself, which is implicitly secondary, and his possibilities, which are of primary importance to him. Again, he is caught in the maze, as his personal worth is determined by what he can be, not be what he is. The marks do more than signify, they make possible the individuality, and the person who is brought up to be aware of their force learns to adjust to what they imply. The marks are also an interpersonal reckoning and a competitive score. It is for these reasons, then, that #45 is keyed as evincing Ressentiment.

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[20] The statements in quotations are as actually stated on the direction sheet received by the respondents at the time of the testing.

Either a true or a false answer can be keyed as giving evidence of Ressentiment for a specific item; however, in the great majority of cases the true answer, as in the case of the item above, was keyed as the answer evincing Ressentiment. It was difficult to construct a large number of suitable statements in which the negative gave evidence of Ressentiment, and in which the positive, by virtue of being positive, did not in itself become ressentient through a surfeit of piety. An example of such a false-as-Ressentiment item is #46 from the F-N R Index: If a boy and a girl go steady here, the chances are that they are really in love. It seems, despite what one hears on the radio, hour after hour, that very few young people believe that their contemporaries are capable of real love, for over 75 percent of all students answering scored this particular item as "false". Our teacher subjects were even more emphatic, at 95 percent. The implication, it seems, is that strong, close, affectionate, possibly even foolish feelings of love are not to be expected in high school students; what love there is, is assumed to be puppy love. This item #46 is the most popular false-as-Ressentiment item of all, and #45, which was used above as an example of a positive keyed statement, is the most popular true-as-Ressentiment item of all with over 90 percent of our subjects scoring it as true.

In all, 135 high school characteristic identifying statements - the F-N Index of 75 items and 60 of the ninety of the portion of the Stern index used - were keyed as giving evidence of Ressentiment. Thus, with each item valued at one point, the possible score for persons ranges between 0 and 135. The actual scores for the students who answered all items (880 of the respondents, 22 did not complete the test) range from a high of 99 to a low of 30 with a mean score for all student respondents of 62.4. This mean score combines the F-N R Index score, where a mean of 34.6 was registered, with the mean for the Stern, at 27.8. On the basis of these mean scores there is little or no evidence of difference between the F-N and the Stern, as ideally, with a mean of 62.4 and with 55.6% of the items drawn from the F-N, the expected F-N mean would be 34.7 and the expected Stern, 27.7. A comparison of the two ranges also adds support to this conclusion, for the F-N Index ranges between 56 and 18, the Stern between 46 and 11. However, when comparisons are by items rather than by subjects, an important difference between the two tests emerges. Only one of the eight items on which 80% or more of all subjects chose the answer keyed as evincing Ressentiment is from the Stern Index. The other seven are all from the F-N Index. On the negative side the evidence for extremes in choice on the part of the F-N Index is not so strong as, of the fifteen items in which 20% or less of the subjects chose the answer keyed ressentient, nine are from the F-N Index and six from the Stern.

A more precise statement comparing these two tests can be developed through the Variance Ratio Test (Snedecor's F Test), which seeks to test whether categories which form the basis for estimates of population variance represent independent variables. In the case of the two Indexes we are comparing, we have three categories- schools, items, and a residual variance. Computing F as

$$F = \frac{\text{estimate of variance of category of variation of population}}{\text{estimate of residual variance of the population}}$$

we find that for Items on the F-N R Index, F = 34.98 and with the number of degrees of freedom for items 74, and for residual variation, 592, that this is significant at the 1% level. For schools, F = 4.51 and, with degrees of freedom for schools, eight, the result is also significant at the 1% level. For the Stern R Index, F = 21.23 for variance introduced by items, and F = 8.53 for schools. Again, both are significant at the 1% level. It would seem that the F-N R Index is more sensitive in distinguishing among items, and the Stern R Index in distinguishing among schools, a not unreasonable result considering that the Stern test was designed to distinguish among schools on bases other than Ressentiment.

Thus, the main function of the Stern test in this investigation - to provide an independent check on the specially constructed Ressentiment Index - is now completed. For most comparisons in the discussion to follow, the sum of the scores of the two tests will be used. However, discriminating items of the Stern test will not be discussed, as this test has a more general function, and one that requires that confidentiality as to the nature and content of its material be maintained.

Tabulated responses of the several schools to the Ressentiment Indexes and the Stern R Activities Index are recorded in Table III, in Appendix C. They show generally that Milgrim and Martingale rank highest in terms of raw scores, and that Ipswich, Havencrest, and Delphi rank lowest.

While the Indexes are designed to distinguish among schools, they can actually be used more generally. For it is possible to measure several other variables, irrespective of the schools. Teachers, for instance, have lower scores than do students, with a mean of 56.1 for the 57 teacher respondents, as against 62.4 for the students. Girls also, for their part, are less likely to score their school environments as being ressentient than are boys. The 398 girls who completed the test have a mean score of 60.9, whereas the 482 boys average 63.7, overall. Except for Caddo's and St. Elmo's teachers, both these comparisons also hold when the schools are taken separately.

No conclusive relationship exists between the ages of the several respondents and their scores on the Indexes. Of the nine hundred or so students answering, 253 recorded their age as fifteen. This group averaged 62.3. 321 sixteen year olds averaged 62.6, and 218 seventeen year olds averaged 61.8. A small group of 27 fourteen year olds, mostly from Delphi and Ipswich, which are generally low scoring schools average 58.0 and an even smaller group of eighteen year olds, over half of whom were students at Hartsburgh, averaged 64.2. The remainder of the students responding either did not report their age or did not complete the tests and were thus rejected.

There is, however, a consistent relationship between the student's class in school and his score on the Ressentiment Indexes. Only one school, Ipswich, provided us with Freshmen, a group of 15 who had a mean score of 60.0. This score is considerably above the average for the school as a whole (56.4). 307 Sophomores, drawn from all schools, averaged 63.4, 288 Juniors averaged 61.9, and 232 Seniors averaged 61.5. Thus, the evidence suggests that the higher the class in school the lower the mean score, or the less likely that the student responding sees evidence of Ressentiment in his school environment.

An inverse relationship exists between grade averages as reported by students and their R scores. Summarizing data only where ten or more students at a specific school actually report the grade designated, the situation is as follows:

Grade[21]	C-	C	C+	B-	B	B+
N Students	10	237	97	116	180	60
Mean Score	70.6	64.6	63.0	62.0	58.6	55.7

If we now draw together the several variables mentioned we find that girls are less likely to view their environment as afflicted with Ressentiment infected modes of action than are boys, that teachers are also less likely to do this than are their students, and that successful students, as measured by grade average and by progress towards Seniority in the class order, manifest the same insensitivity about Ressentiment when compared with unsuccessful students. One other measure remains to be examined, and that is for us to compare the results on the Characteristics Indexes with those of the Stern R Activities Index. The reader will remember that the Activities Index consists of a series of positive statement-items about actions one might or might not like to engage in. The subject is asked to answer affirmatively when faced with such items if: the item describes an activity or event that you would like, enjoy, or find more pleasant than unpleasant. And negatively, if: the item describes an activity or event that you would dislike, reject, or find more unpleasant than pleasant. Employing the same principles used in the Characteristics Index, Stern constructed this index to help in matching persons to schools.

Again, we each took the test independently, and where we all three agreed that the item seemed to give evidence of a ressentient attitude on the part of the respondent, it was keyed accordingly as true-as-Ressentiment or false-as-Ressentiment. Out of a series of 60 (Numbers 181-240) items drawn from the Stern High School Activities Index, (Form 1158) there were twenty-six such items. When scores for these twenty-six items were computed, it was found in general that the students expressed a desire for power and self-direction, and in consequence, a recognition that the desired was escaping them. One more point: oddly enough, many of the virtues favored through the Activities Index were just those that adults often charge they find lacking in the young.

When the scores for the Activities Index were correlated with the R scores for the Characteristics Indexes a very clear-cut relationship was apparent. The scores produced a negative correlation overall of -.147. When tested for significance this correlation was found to be significantly different from zero at the 1% level. For teachers the correlation is again negative, -.269, and is significant at the 5% level, the number of teachers tested being much smaller. Only one school, Caddo, shows any positive correlation between the scores on the Activities Index and the Characteristics Index. On the other hand, four of the schools - Parma, Milgrim, Martingale, and St. Elmo - have negative correlations at the 1% level of significance.

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[21] Numerical grades and letter grades are reconciled according to the following scheme: C- 72, C 75, C+ 78, B- 82, B 85, B+ 88.

In keying the Activities Index, the project investigators attempted to single out items evincing ego-centric attitudes containing the oppressive sense of impotence Scheler holds to be characteristic of Ressentiment. If we have been successful in this endeavor, then an important point emerges. For the consistently negative correlation indicated above suggests that persons who have accepted ressentient attitudes towards themselves as a way of tolerating existence may find it difficult to identify Ressentiment in their institutional press. Where this particular characteristic is manifest, then, doubt must be cast on quantitative responses, as perceptions affirm or deny rather than report uncontaminated responses. This may then help explain a problem which will emerge later in this report, which is the degree to which the several schools fail to differentiate in a convincing way in terms of Ressentiment when we attempt to use the R Characteristics Index. It would be unwise, however, to make too much of this, as the Activities Index is a slender reed on which to build an important conclusion. As utilized, it is too limited an instrument.

Returning again to the F-N R Index, what does it tell us about Ressentiment in the high school generally? Earlier we discussed Item #45, the most popular item of all, and suggested that it underscored the importance of marks or grades in denoting success, and correlative to that, a necessary acceptance on the part of the individual of the dominating abstract processes through which the institution is revealed to him. One young lady from Milgrim expressed herself most poignantly along these lines during an informal discussion which followed Phase II of the interviews there. A lovely, tender, paragon of propriety and politeness, Miss B. always dresses neatly and does her work on time. Further, she was added as an extra to the sample for Phase II simply because she was so little given to animus that she scored extremely low, by Milgrim standards, on the Ressentiment Indexes. Miss B. is clearly not a trouble maker for trouble's sake alone. The discussion group included five students and Professor Friedenberg. For the first half hour Miss B. said nothing, then, insisting in a quiet and serious way, said:

> You're taught to put aside your own interests and have an interest in reading or something like that. You're taught to put aside your own interests and do what's important.

After several comments by other participating students, such as "What they feel is important", with the stress on the word "they", Miss B. continues:

> Everyone has to take the same path. It's so mapped out, you have to take the same path as everybody else... it's difficult for all but a very smart person to take a path of his own, you know, to channel off into his own interests.

A further discussion ensues among other students and the interviewer, and then, Miss B. again:

> Even though we talk of being different, as we would like to be, for whatever reason, you just feel that the only reward is in, uh, doing the set thing... You feel truly that you have to be, that you have to do what's mapped out for you or else there's no... that's the true path of your responsibility and that you should actually be doing it. It's the life that you were born into, it's your responsibility, and if you be different, if you're different, you're just not accepting your responsibility.

A victim of some abstract "they" which is beyond her control, Miss B. finally comes to terms with this "they" authority by accepting it as the true expression of what ought to be, and, in sadness, gives up her hopes for individuality. Still, she wonders, is not something amiss here. So much for item #45.

Two other items, focussed on abstract processes, stand out. Both are very close to Scheler's original formulation are are among the most popular items keyed true-as-Ressentiment. Over three-quarters of all respondents, including both teachers and students, scored them as being true for their schools. They are: When a class here is discussing a problem the teachers think the most important thing is to have all possible points of view represented, and, second: A basic principle of the way this school is supposed to be run is that everybody gets equal treatment no matter who he is. *

This commitment to equalitarianism becomes in its own way another affirmation of dominating abstract forces. The ferreting out of "all possible points of view" controls the

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* Items #26 and 56. Hereafter Item numbers will not be given in the text but instead will be placed in a footnote to facilitate reference to their location in Appendix A.

discussion. Of course, the process can be looked at in two ways, one which may still represent the pressure of abstract forces, but has the merit of recognizing that it is through such a ferreting process that truth is ofen identified and error singled out for annihilation. The other is simply an ideological position, that being that anyone's opinion counts, for whatever it is that opinions count for, and should be allowed its ventilation. In consequence, no one's opinion really does count, as no basis for merit is established, and what is important is the process, a process that, at least, leaves everyone with the illusion of fairness and objectivity, but also with a feeling of meaninglessness. Thus, in this, as in many other aspects of high school life, the "everyone" substitutes for the individual, and supercedes the individual as the immediate concern of the institution. The abstract process is dominant, and the individual fits himself in, for better or for worse. This is hardly surprising, of course, as such subservience to abstraction must almost be the essential nature of institutionalized authority.

Another consistent pattern suggested by the responses to the Ressentiment Indexes is the stress on orderliness. One has to expect to be managed when one is in high school and to get used to it. For example, among the most popular items, is: Club and school activities have to be planned and approved by the activities office a long way ahead of time. * While teachers were less firm, almost 60 percent of them support this proposition also, and in interviews often discuss planning as if it serves its most appropriate function when it so absorbs the energy of the young students that it actually vitiates action. In this way, the event, originally signal, becomes transformed into the afterthought of the occasion of planning.

Approximately three-quarters of both students and teachers agree that: A girl who went too far here and got into trouble would be suspended or expelled. This hardly seems the humane thing to do, yet, it is accepted as a matter of course. Realized authority can also have its corrupting characteristic where it is so rarely brought under critical examination, and often it appears as if high school journalism were designed to prepare students for a career with Pravda. Two of the most popular of all items, again, with around three-quarters of all respondents answering in agreement, are: The student newspaper here is pretty careful not to report things in such a way that they might make trouble for the school with other people, and: The student newspaper here is pretty careful not to print anything too critical of the faculty or administration. **

Along with the subservience to abstraction, the commitment to equality and the "boot camp" spirit in the hard, administrative line, our respondents also report a certain lack of seriousness about liberal education as a fact of life. Seventy-five percent of the students affirm that: The teachers who have a good line, who know the latest jokes and who always manage to make the class hour a lot of fun are the ones the students here like best. The teachers disagree, however, and only 28 percent of them scored this item as true for their institutions. Most respondents -- teachers and students -- reject the assertion that: Students here are serious about using their study time well. They just don't like it when somebody's fooling around and attracting attention, and they let him know it. Also: Most students here are too proud to cheat on examinations. On this latter teachers feel somewhat diffidently, and only half of them disagree with it. On the other hand, and this may be a happier note, only one-fourth of the respondents maintain that: About all that means anything to kids in this school is having a good time. ***

There are, to be sure, positive aspects also to report. These too have a certain consistency. Among the items keyed false-as-Ressentiment which were answered true, overwhelmingly, was: There are teachers here who when they tell you your work is well done you know it is good. Also: Many of the teachers know a great deal about things other than what they cover in their subject in class, and: Some teachers surprise you by getting you interested in subjects you'd never really thought much about before. And for the counsellor who doesn't feel appreciated, our student respondents agree at better than 80 percent that: Our guidance people are really helpful when it comes to advice about careers and college. ****

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* Item #62 in Appendix A.

** Items #36, 18 and 2.

*** Items #15, 59, 63 and 30.

**** Items #67, 75, 39 and 65.

In sum, then, the responses suggest an institutional press founded on control and authority characterizes all the schools, and also that one must learn to live with it. Certain of the items supported by the respondents suggest that they expect their lives to be absorbed into a set of categories. Against this there are, however, in every school, dedicated teachers and counsellors who have earned the respect of their students.

Part II

Phase I - Data and Conclusions About School Presses

A. GENERAL

Our object for Phase I of the project is to describe the unique institutional press manifest in each of the schools, and further, to establish a relative basis for rating the several schools with respect to Ressentiment. For this purpose we have available the F-N R Characteristics Index; the Stern Characteristics and Activities Indexes; the Non-Verbal Perception test, in which the respondent is asked to design an ideal Social Studies classroom; the Best-Thing-Worst-Thing test, where the student is asked for the extremes of his impressions of high school life; and Professor Gold's own observations, based on his experience in administering the instruments, observing classes, and koffee-klotching around while at the schools. There is, in addition, for the seven public schools- Parma, Hartsburgh, Milgrim, Martingale, Caddo, Delphi and Havencrest - relevant census data providing a reasonable basis for estimating socio-economic status. In the course of this section of the report we shall present a description of the press at each school, as developed from this information, and then, drawing together in summary form the data, offer our estimate of the degree to which Ressentiment permeates the institutional presses of the several schools.

The test results and the observations and material collected by Professor Gold will be used to set the general shape of the school descriptions. These data are not, however, of equal value, nor do they receive equal attention. For example, the Non-Verbal Perception test on the whole proved barren and is used only once or twice. Singular responses to this test represent about three percent of the subjects for all schools, and at no school do more than five percent suggest a classroom of a different kind. Whichever their school, most students designed classrooms similar to the one in which they were taking the test and left it at that. Further, these ideal classrooms were uniform from school to school, no matter what the socio-economic status, reputation, or mode of organization of the said school. Results of this test, then, which hopefully were to give us insight into patterns of convergent and divergent thinking a la Guilford[1], instead underscored the melancholy finding that dominates much of our results, that being that there are very few students who are not inclined to give conventional responses.

Another integrant of the protocol that generated little or no variation was Professor Gold's classroom observations. Except for a favorable impression at Ipswich and a special note underscoring the dependence on lectures and formal recitation at St. Elmo, he had nothing to report - the same standard techniques were reproduced again and again in school after school.

By contrast, however, the Best-Thing-Worst-Thing test provided rich material about the schools, and thus, becomes a major source of information about differences in institutional presses. In reporting these vignettes of experience we have attempted to choose representative samples and have retained the syntax and the spelling of the respondents themselves. In addition, we have included as Appendix D to this report a representative sample of Best-Thing-Worst-Thing responses from teachers and from students in the several schools studied. The various handbooks Gold collected also proved useful, as they provide considerable information about the intentions and actual procedures accompanying the established press.

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[1] J.P. Guilford et al., A Factor-Analytic Study of Creative Thinking; I, Hypothesis and Description of Tests (Los Angeles: University of Southern California Press, 1951).

On the other hand, we make little use of the Stern Activities and Characteristics Indexes in the form in which composite scores relating specifically to the H. A. Murray needs-press categories are generated. This, for two reasons. First: we do not use the complete test in either case, only sections, and this gives us some concern about the validity of the findings. And second, reinforcing the first: when considered in the light of the other material available certain responses on the Activities Index are contradictory. Specifically, Delphi and St. Elmo achieve the lowest composite scores for all schools on the Dependency Needs dimension of the Index. According to Stern, "A high score suggests a generally high level of dependent, submissive, socially-controlled behavior. A low score represents the inverse of this: autonomy, ascendence, and non-conformity."[2] Yet, the student initiated responses - especially the Best-Thing-Worst-Thing and the Q-Sort results from Phase II - say quite the opposite, particularly for St. Elmo. For example, according to the Q-Sort, St. Elmo students are clearly the most conventional of all. The Composite Score for Intellectual Orientation, however, places St. Elmo at the top by a wide margin, and with this finding we heartily concur, as long as Intellectual Orientation is accepted in its most ordinary sense.

Items drawn from the F-N Ressentiment Index constitute another important source of information. Several statements, drawn from the seventy-five constituting the F-N R Index, are used to characterize each school. Of course, these statements are only accurate to the degree the respondent's perception reflects true conditions in the school and should only be accepted with some caution as characterizing the school.

The process by which they are selected is based on a standard Chi-square test of significance. Item #1, for example, says: Students here know that in science the easiest way to solve a problem is usually the best way. Keyed false-as-Ressentiment, this item somewhat simply-mindedly restates Occam's Razor, and is designed to measure the extent to which high school science teachers use the complexities of their subject to intimidate their students - a practice we conceive of as being ressentient. Fifty-five percent of all students answered this item as False, its keyed answer. At one extreme lies Delphi, where students answered false in 71 percent of the cases, and at the other, St. Elmo, where 39 percent answered false for this item. Comparing these school responses with the Grand Average for all students by means of a Chi-square test, with one degree of freedom, a difference in percentage points from a mean of 55 that is greater than ±9.75 is significant at 5%, and a difference greater than ± 12.81 is significant at 1%. Consequently, the differences recorded by Delphi (+16%) are beyond the 1% level of significance. For this test, as the Grand Average for all respondents increases towards 100% or decreases towards 0%, the span imposed by the confidence limits narrows, and at a Grand Average of 75 percent (or 25 percent) a difference greater than ±8.49 from the average is significant at the 5% level, and one of ±11.15 at the 1% level of significance. Similar limits can be computed for every point on the range and it is on the basis of such confidence limits that the determination of significance of each school's response to each item has been made.

From time to time we use teachers' responses to such statements to supplement our description of the school. In the case of Item #1 which we have used above, our teacher respondents were found to view their schools as being somewhat more ressentient than were their students - 65 percent of them answered the statement as being false for their school. Given the small number of teachers participating from each school, however, we have not attempted to compute averages or significance figures for the separate schools, and generally report the teacher response in real numbers, or even more commonly only in approximations. For instance, for Item #1 we would say that Delphi teachers disagree mildly with their students, in that three of the six responding answered this item as false, whereas, by comparison, 71 percent of the students answered it as false. As this is not an impressive difference it would not be mentioned in the school description, unless there was some special reason for such mention. At St. Elmo, where three out of the six teachers also answered false, the results are even less conclusive. More interesting, though, and worth reporting for this item, is the response of all science teachers taken as a unit. Twelve respondents identify themselves as either science or mathematics teachers, and of these, nine answer Item #1 true - that is, give the non-Ressentiment answer. As every teacher responding answered this item, this means that 34 of the 45 remaining teachers and counsellors answered the item false. This is certainly an impressive contrast in response.

Every item referred to in the series of school descriptions that constitutes the main body of Part II of the project report is, in accord with the procedure described above, scored significantly by the school indicated. We do not, however, attempt to be exhaustive and list all significant items in the text of our descriptions, and include only those which have some consistent relation with the remainder of the material presented for each school. For the reader interested in all responses, Appendix A contains the necessary information, including each item of the F-N R Index listed serially, along with the percentage response for each school, significant items indicated by an asterisk, the raw score teacher responses, again by school, and the Grand Average for students, and for teachers.

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[2] George C. Stern, Scoring Instructions and College Norms: Activities Index. Psychological Research Center, Syracuse University, N.Y. 1963, p. 15.

What we attempt, instead, is to delineate the unique institutional press of each of the nine schools as accurately as possible, utilizing, for this purpose, the varigated data generated by the project. For most schools we first seek to set the institution in its correct socio-economic position, primarily through the use of federal census tracts, supplementing these with data garnered from the students and teachers themselves. Then we attempt to establish the intended press at the school through the use of the handbooks, catalogues, and official statements. Against this we juxtapose the student response, mainly to be found in the *Ressentiment* Index and the Best-Thing-Worst-Thing test results, and by these means, to establish the press situation in each school as a constituted-constituting totality. Thus, in the main section of Part II we have tried to characterize each school in its individuality and to identify those features which, in the main, signify it, rather than to seek to be empirically exhaustive. This, as we see it, is how the school is experienced by its students and its teachers, and it is as it is experienced that we wish the reader to perceive it.

Undoubtedly, such an attempt to describe the school as a realized entity can lead us into simplifications that so reduce and/or exaggerate the dimensions of the press that they will be distorting. Sometimes, we think, such an attempt may even lead to gross error. Nevertheless, we think it necessary to take this chance with error, for we think research should never, in the name of objectivity, be allowed to become a pre-programed dredging operation only. A mechanical method geared to caution as a guiding principle, despite its seeming purity, also has its limitations, its subjective implications, and contains its own characteristic form of error. It implies that the instruments used were valid to begin with, and further, that perceiving and thinking about perceiving are separate operations with the second contaminating. This, however, is a large issue, and can not be treated properly here. Let it suffice to say that while we seek objectivity through task independence and through the publication in the appendix of our complete results, in describing the several schools we do not reject our own ideas about the press there. Instead, in the tradition of *verstehen* social science, we try to understand the schools as well as to see them. In fact, to be dogmatic about it, we recognize no responsible alternative to this procedure.

B. PARMA HIGH SCHOOL

> "I think the worst thing that happened to me in Parma was facing and accepting the problems of growing up. We all realize that we will have to face them soon, we might even be facing them now. Basically these problems confront us at Parma, socially rather than educationally."
>
> --A Parma Student

The school district which Parma High School serves is scenic, suburban, and comfortable - bordering on affluence. At $7,977 its' median family income is second highest for the public schools studied.[3] Comparatively speaking, Parma's parents also have good jobs, with over one third of the employed males serving in professional, technical, and management positions. Among the occupations reported for the fathers of Parma's students were chemist, writer, professor, manufacturer, engineer, and sales manager, as well as barber, welder, and custodian. Parma parents as a rule are above average for the sample in educational attainment, with 29 percent having completed one or more years of college.

Parma's high school is best typified as reflecting ambivalence. In keeping with this spirit, the building itself incorporates into its modern main structure a mansion which stands as a rememberance of things past at Parma. An awareness of the "old and the new" is also revealed in regard to the pupil population. For example, the *Parma Dispatch*, a local newspaper, quotes the President of Parma's Board of Education as follows, in reporting on a recent meeting:

> "Parma school's behavior problems seem to be no more severe than what could be expected in a rapidly growing system. The system is feeling the effects of the few people who have moved in bringing their problems with them ... The number of student suspensions is up in the system, but so is enrollment. Only a few of the suspensions are permanent."

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[3] See Tables IV-a through IV-e in Appendix C for the specifics of these data.

Parma is new, growing, burgeoning, and feels this newness in its very being. This constant awareness of the need for coping with the new, combined with a concern for tradition and propriety probably accounts, to some extent, for the incongruity typifying Parma. Many of its students are transfers, and judge Parma in terms of what they have known before:

> I think the best thing that ever happened to me in Parma was basically just going and enjoying this school very much. Please don't get me wrong. I'm not saying this to win over whoever is correcting this test. I really enjoy going to this school.

And the contrary, from another student:

> The worst thing that ever happened to me in High School was going to this school. Out of all the schools I've been to this is by far the worst. Their is no communication between teachers and the student is given no freedom whatsoever. A student has no identity. Its like a giant factory turning out the same old line every June.

A paternalistic concern, in deference to what ought to be, characterizes the image Parma seeks to project about itself. The student handbook, by means of which the school speaks to its students, contains thirty-two General Rules, of which the following are a representative sample:

4. Fighting or unnecessary roughness to the extent that anyone is liable to injury is forbidden.

9. The performance of any acts of conduct that interfere with the best interests of the school is forbidden.

12. No student is allowed to remain in the school building after school hours without being under a teacher's supervision.

15. Desks should be kept neat and orderly.

Four of the thirty-two rules refer specifically to proper activity in the school corridors. Of these, two short rules summarize the spirit encouraged:

22. Absolutely no running or pushing in the halls, classrooms, etc.

25. No boisterous laughing or talking during assembly or in the halls.

That the student will be held accountable for his feelings and actions - revealed in differing degrees above - is supported by a number of related observations. As has been suggested, the constant regulation of student movement is important to those in authority at Parma, and is enforced by a system of corridor passes. These, originating with, and signed by the classroom teachers, indicate the time of departure and intended destination of the student; similar provision is necessary to authorize return passage. While corridor passes are by no means unique to Parma - almost all the schools studied have them - what is unusual is the preoccupation and concern that is accorded them at Parma. During school hours the halls of Parma were always policed by a roving service squad, composed of a teacher and three students.

Further evidence of a system of "checks" was revealed by student reactions to the group testing situation for Phase I of the project. Parma emerged as the only school where students revealed concern regarding whether their responses would be seen by their teachers and administrators. During the session one young lady queried, "Are you interviewing some of us later?" and then added, immediately, "Then we have to account for our answers."

As to the statistical pattern of their answers, Parma students, in rating their school environment as they see it, scored their school at 63.1 (out of 135 possible), slightly above the average for all schools. This placed Parma in a group along with Hartsburgh and Caddo, somewhat below the two high scoring schools, Milgrim and Martingale.[4] Teacher respondents, however, perceive Parma as below average in Ressentiment, with a mean score for their answers of 55.0. Only Havencrest, Ipswich, and Delphi teacher respondents report lower mean scores than those at Parma. Further, and of interest about Parma, is the response to the Activities Index by the students. While the Parma score on this index at 13. 7 (out of 26 possible) approximated the average for all schools, the response, when correlated with responses to the R Characteristics Indexes, has, together with Martingale, the highest recorded negative correlation between the two tests, -. 33. This is significant at the 1% level, and suggests that where the student respondent expressed a liking for activities deemed ressentient, he did not see Ressentiment in the Parma institutional press. And vice-versa, of course.

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[4] Table III in Appendix C records these data for all schools.

Turning to the items in which Parma scores differ significantly from those reported by all students, several statements stand out.[5] At all schools students agree that the student newspaper is pretty careful not to print anything too critical or to report things in such a way as to make trouble for the school. At Parma they are even more emphatic in affirming these responses. Also, Parma students hold that dances are heavily chaperoned, and that initiations are carefully controlled to see that there isn't any rough stuff. The Parma teachers concur, as they do also, that the school takes the position that the students are too young to get too involved with one another. In terms of negatives, both teachers and students do not agree that the students are left pretty well to themselves to do what seems reasonable to them in their clubs and activities, or that the good teachers wouldn't expect a student to tell on a friend whom he knows is breaking the rules. *

Two items, among several, provide an interesting contrast between students and teachers. Parma teachers maintain by a vote of six to one that to be an honor student at Parma means that the pupil really knows a lot about the subjects he's taken. The students are less sanguine about the possibility. On the other hand, the students maintain that they can wear anything they want to to school as long as it is decent. Here, the teachers disagree. They should too, for there are dress regulations at Parma, regulations which the students saw fit to deny existed. One final item, where agreement was general and appropriate. Both groups held that when it was really hot Parma's basketball team was a beautiful thing to watch. It was, too, and combining excellence with efficiency was district champion when the project was on location. **

In sum, Parma student respondents agree that their school exercises a paternalistic control over both feelings and actions. In this way they are supported generally by their teachers. When we turn, however, to the Best-Thing-Worst-Thing test we find the pattern more complex.

Miss R., for instance, in describing the Best Thing, mentions a teacher:

> Not only does he excel in his field of teaching ... but each child, student or hood is considered by him to be equal no matter what his reputation may have been beforehand. Foolish teenage problems are treated with utmost care.

Her Worst Thing, is also about a teacher experience:

> The worst thing was the day I became excellerated ... I began to resent the quiet inner rage inside of me errupting every time I was called "stupid" or didn't answer a question. I hated it and still do!

It is not clear what she hated, the experience or herself. Or what she should have hated.

Fifteen percent of Parma's students mentioned positive peer group associations in their Best Thing, responding with variations of this:

> The best thing is when I moved here and made good friends quickly. I got into the right group and met the right girls. I got accepted very quickly and am making out good.

On the other hand, thirteen percent expressed disillusionment with their peers as the Worst Thing. This category ranked second in unpopularity at Parma to "failing a subject" (16%). Along with oblique references to "hoods" such as we had above, we have:

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[5] Data for all items included in the F-N R Index are presented in Appendix A, including identification of significant items when tested by a Chi-square procedure. Only certain of the items are mentioned in the text. The item numbers of such items as are discussed in the text are included in the asterisk indicated footnotes, throughout.

*Items #2, 18, 48, 50, 16, 4, and 19.

**Items #53, 12, and 22.

> Nothing really bad has ever happened to me while I have been at Parma. Perhaps the event that gave me the worst feeling was one that occurred this past year. One of Parma's top students; a very pretty, popular girl, got into "trouble". Until this time many of my friends and I held her in great esteem; in fact almost to the point of idolization.
>
> My faith in the student body of Parma was a little shaken after this news to say the least. This event made me see only more clearly the bad points of our community and to realize the need of certain changes.

Somehow, our subjects seem again to have come out on both sides of the issue, or to have lost it somewhere.

Legitimate authority at Parma seeks to be understanding, when applied. People who are in charge try to be helpful:

> The best thing was the day I passed a French exam. I was so pleased I framed the test. My teacher was very proud of me. He only wishes I could pass some more.

And even, at times, take pity:

> The best thing . . . when a teacher didn't report me to the principal when he caught me smoking. Which would have resulted in suspension.

But not always. In maintaining order along with understanding of a sort, everything isn't always so simple, and sometimes a bad taste is left, afterwards:

> About the worst thing was having to write "I must keep quiet" the whole period one day in math. It was especially wrong since, though the whole class was assigned it, it only applied to a few.

It isn't always clear that the person counts, but it is that there is a Parma way to act, and that this is where the sympathy comes in. Consider, for instance:

> I think the worst thing was that I was forced to shave off my goatee. I was told by the vice-principal that there was no rule concerning anything like this, yet I was told to shave it off or get out. I think the administration is very narrow minded about some things around here. I could not see where my growing a goatee was affecting students to the point where they could not keep up with their work.

The Parma Way is compelling, controlling coupled with a certain solicitude. There is much about this Way that seems to leave the student small, by comparison, and confused. Its pressure confounds and it is as difficult to determine where one belongs; whether inside, submitting, or outside, in revolt. One young lady describes her worst experience in these terms, most concretely:

> Last year, when my boy friend and I were holding hands in the hall. I could see nothing shameful about this. I am a good girl and my boy friend and I have been going steady for almost ten months. At the time we were going steady only a few days. A teacher came up and told us to break it up we did, but my boy friend turned around and said "thanks" very nastily, which was the wrong thing to do but anyway they got into an argument and then a fight and pretty soon by boyfriend got kicked out of school. I was very scared, it was in the paper, but luckily my name wasn't. It just said a girl. But my father is very strict and I knew if he ever found out that would be the end of me, you see, he belongs to the PTA and all. In other schools very near students can hold hands without being prosecuted for it. I think kissing and other things are way out of line for school, but not just holding hands.

Against this there is the positive aspect of the Parma way of life:

> The best thing that ever happened to me in high school was joining the football team. You are respected.

Few Parma students, however, find it easy to be so clear about what is worthwhile in their experience. For the Parma student body as a whole is more spontaneous when writing about

"Worst-Things", where they rank second among the schools studied, than they are when writing about "Best-Things" where they rank seventh, out of nine.[6]

Adding to - and suggesting a possible reason for - Parma's pattern of ambivalence is a vital statistical item. Although 60 percent of her students are enrolled in a college preparatory program, Stern Activity scores place Parma eighth on the dimension Intellectual Orientation. This discrepancy between what might be termed real and "(mis)applied" interests is reinforced by the Stern Activity rankings on the factor Intellectual Interests, where Parma places ninth, lowest of all schools. Possibly Parma young people are asked to develop values that are alien to their parents, and yet, in addition, represent the aspirations of those same parents. This can create a tension between the two, out of a kind of, "Give your child the piano you never had, and what does he do, nothing." mentality. And, along with this tension and the resentment it encourages, a lack of sureness.

Obviously, something doesn't jibe at Parma. Formally, there is a concern for order, especially for orderly feelings. And many of the students respond contritely, but often, awkwardly, as if they can't quite explain themselves. The responses are incongruous and unresolved. Many accept in passive acquiescence the limitations imposed on adolescent expression, a few have learned to "suffer gladly" and to appreciate what compassion they receive should they inadvertantly betray the Parma Way, and others, to develop cunning in their accomodation to the system.

One thing is certain, however, the press imposed at Parma does not make it a comfortable place in which to be. Possibly, it isn't supposed to be, that this is the way education is conceived of there. One "must learn to grow up" it would seem, even though it hurts. Nevertheless, and in keeping with Parma's characterizing ambivalence, one young man unexpectedly did find comfort there one day, and describes it as his Best-Thing:

> I think the best thing that ever happened to me was last year during final examinations. I know its a funny time to have a good thing happen but I seem to remember having an awfully good time. You had to stay in school even if you didn't have tests. But the thing was, you had the run of the school if you didn't have review classes - complete freedom of movement. Nothing particular happened to me. I just had the best time in school than I'd ever had.

C. HARTSBURGH

"Some people think our students are apathetic..."
-- A Guidance Counsellor

The Counsellor's sentence was never finished, and for good reason. It is not entirely clear that they are apathetic, or that they are not. Model adolescents on the whole, our Hartsburgh respondents profess especially to like being what they ought to be. They like each other, their teachers, and the subject matter they are studying:

> The best thing was the introduction, through classes, of the vast fields of knowledge and learning available. The history of literature and backgrounds in science, math and foreign languages are the most stimulating things I have met in high school.

They also like achievement and appreciate receiving academic medals, making the honor roll, and "getting something out of school." One young man, for instance, describes himself:

> I am an active member of the traffic squad, one of the four Lieutenants. Being on the squad has done a great deal to mold my future convictions and morals. I have been put in the position as to judge which will I hold in greater stead - my friends or my morals and principles. It has made me a great deal more mature and rational than I would have been.

Presumption suggests that he is no budding E. M. Forster, and that he resolved his dilemna in favor of his morals and principles. They try, these young people of Hartsburgh, to live according to the established model, and they should make good members of someone's Establishment:

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[6] See Tables V-a and V-b in Appendix C.

> The best thing that ever happened to me was when I began to understand why I am here. I started seeing the teacher's point of view which for years I had always been against. I also began to realize the true meaning of life.

The same theme appears again, in obverse image, in the Worst Thing responses. The pupil lives under scrutiny and with constant judgement as a companion. He must be careful of his reputation, "a bad Rep" can hurt:

> The worst thing was starting off on the wrong foot in this school. I didn't give myself a very good name with my teachers and there's no way of showing them or making up for it now.

Once it has caught on, a bad Rep doesn't get lost easily:

> The only thing I can think of that was "bad" is the time during assembly when my friend accidently let slip a "cuss word" in front of the whole school, and we were connected with the mishap for the next few months.

In consequence, the sensible student at Hartsburgh learns to be careful and conserve his capital:

> The worst thing that ever happened to me in high school was getting caught loaning my car to "friends" to cut school with. It wasn't just the part about getting caught that was bad but just that I was stupid enough to want to do somebody a favor and have it spoil your chances in school for such things as Honor Society, etc.

And to accept his own limitations:

> The worst thing was taking subjects I really didn't like, just to make my parents happy. When my marks went down I got into all kinds of trouble at home and school became a terrible experience.

Consonent with these responses to the Best-Thing-Worst-Thing test are the Stern Activity Index data, which describe Hartsburgh students as scoring high on the factor of Egoism-Diffidence. According to Stern, "This factor reveals an extreme preoccupation with self. The items are concerned with appearance and comfort, as well as with fantasies in which the self obtains unusually high levels of gratification."[7] For fantasy, take Mr. R's response to the Non-Verbal Perception Test, possibly the most elaborate and different one of all. To refresh the reader's memory, the test referred to asked the respondent to draw and describe an ideal social studies classroom. Mr. R's response is on page 22 of this report.

Hartsburgh also scores high on factors of constraint, closeness, and submissiveness on the Activities Index. These, according to Stern, indicate guardedness and a need for emotional supportiveness on the part of the students and reflect controls "based on social conformity and other-directedness."[8]

Hartsburgh High School, then, seems to have succeeded in reproducing a conventional middle class outlook, one respectful of the symbols of achievement and encouraging of a mild form of upward mobility, yet also one sufficiently intrapunative so as to keep acquisitiveness from getting out of hand. In this the High School reflects its source, the District. As statistical categories, both the school and the district differ in most things only moderately from the average response for all schools. A relatively large foreign stock population, originating mainly in Italy and Germany, is about all that distinguishes the district. The median family income, at $6,894, is somewhat above average for the seven comparable schools, and is distributed evenly over the range. Skilled work predominates. A fairly large number of the students report father's occupations that are directly related to selling. Other important categories include skilled craft and middle management positions at a nearby aircraft factory and the whole range of opportunities offered by a state mental hospital.

It seems reasonable, then, to classify Hartsburgh as middle class, and in consideration of the responses to the Best-Thing-Worst-Thing, as middle class almost with a vengeance.

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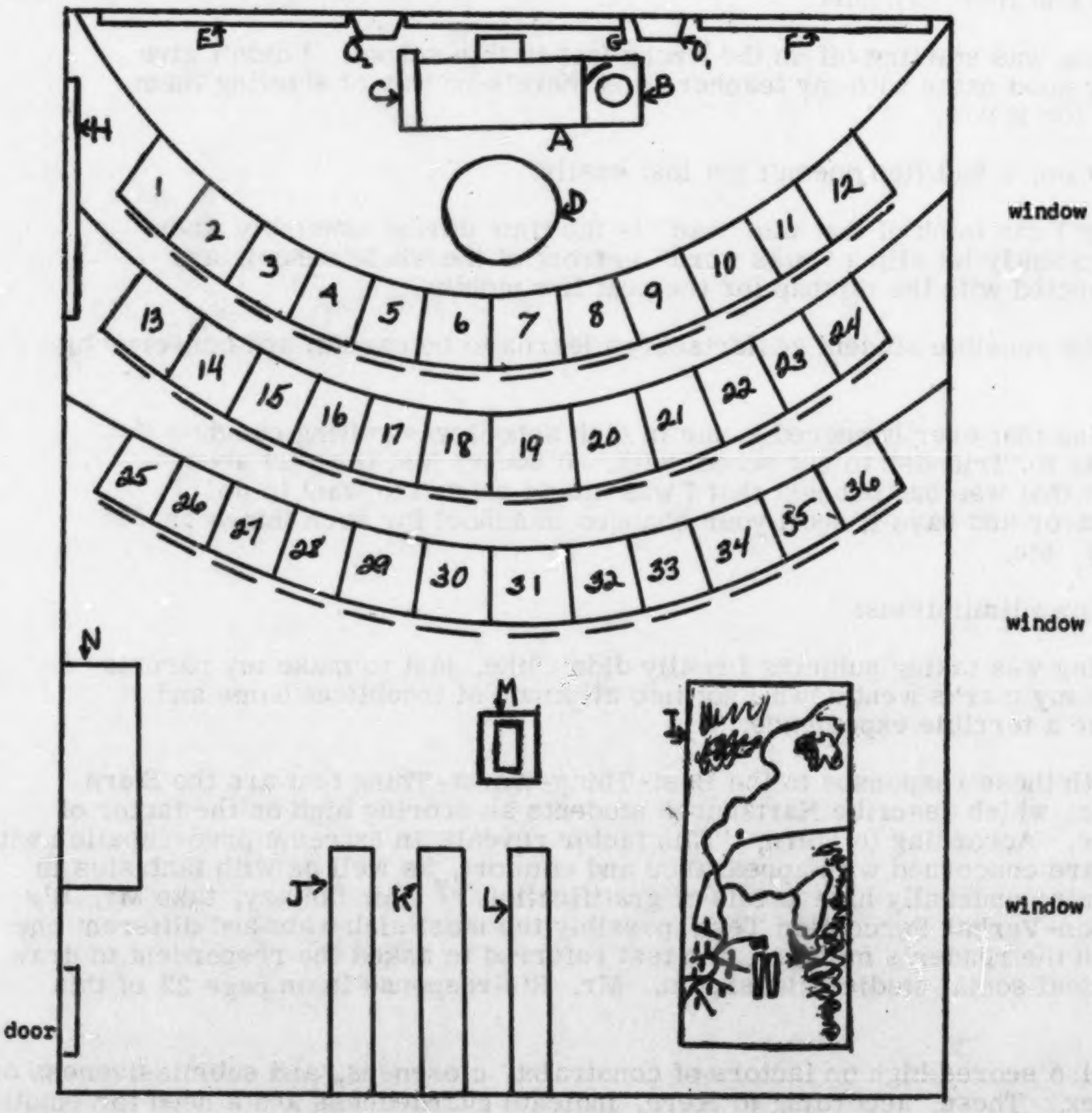
[7] George C. Stern, Scoring Instructions and College Norms: Activities Index. Psychological Research Center, Syracuse University, New York, 1963, Page 17.

[8] Ibid., p. 15.

Imagine that we are going to have a new High School in the community and that you have been asked to submit a design for the Social Studies classroom that you will spend most of your time in. In the space below roughly sketch in this ideal classroom -- please be sure to label all the important areas and details.

To this Mr. R's response was:



Legend:

A Teaching Complex + Desk	**M Projection Table**
B Phonograph (Hi-fi Stereo)	**N Storage**
C Electronic Control Complex*	**O_1 Regular Television (Color)**
D "Mammoth" Globe	**O_2 Closed Circuit Television**
E, F, & H Maps	**1-12 Student Desks**
I War Strategy Table	**13-24 Pupil Desks**
G Screen for slides, movies	**25-36 Visitor or Observer Desks**
J, K, & L Book and Record Library	

***The electronic control complex controls B, D, E, F, G, H, M, O_1, O_2, and locks and unlocks the door, contains a clock which is visible only to the teacher (to keep students, pupils, etc. from gazing at the clock) and can also deliver a 10 volt jolt to anyone of the desks 13-36 and a 5 volt jolt to desks 1-12, when there is an unnecessary outbreak of emotions. It also controls temperature, humidity, and amount and type of light. I have also crossed out windows and added air conditioning, to keep students, pupils, etc. from gazing out of the windows. Furniture must be very comfortable, but the room kept at a temp. level so as to keep students, pupils, etc. mentally alert. There are no black boards (to relieve chalk dust) notes are projected. This plan also creates a competitive atmosphere for seats 1-12.**

Only almost, though, because what seems most often to be absent, is a vigorous expression of any kind. On the Ressentiment Index, Hartsburgh students disparage their fellows, saying that: About all that means anything to the "kids" there is having a good time, but not so strongly as at Milgrim and Martingale. They are not convinced as completely as are students at other high schools that: A basic principle on which this school is supposed to be run is that everybody gets equal treatment, no matter who he is. And they feel that: Teachers are too soft, too easy with students here, they don't expect enough from them and don't make them work hard enough, more so, at least than most schools, but still only moderately. And in most of these items the teachers disagree. *

While authority at Hartsburgh is not rancorous, the fundamental pattern is one of control, distrust, and punishment. There is a regulation against couples holding hands and they are punished if reported, but couples were observed, by our interviewer, holding hands as they walked down the halls. They always broke apart rather guiltily when they were aware of being under observation by an adult. Dress regulations exist but do not seem to be rigorously enforced. In their response to the Ressentiment Index Hartsburgh students affirm, mildly: You can wear anything you want to school here as long as it is decent, and, while they agree, they agree less strongly than at any other school that: The school doesn't expect students to wear expensive clothes, but they do have to be neat and clean. Clothes that are too sporty or sexy are "out". This latter response is interesting in that subornation in reverse, that is, towards propriety is the method of authority at Hartsburgh. Every Wednesday is dress-up day; boys are expected to wear ties and jackets; the girls, dresses rather than skirts and sweaters. On Wednesday school ends with an extra hour of required assembly and, the students explain, there are often outside visitors for whom they are expected to look their best. There is technique in this, and in the way the smoking problem is handled. Recently, the principal issued to all students a letter warning that any student caught in the vicinity of the school with "tobacco products" on him would be subject to suspension; students were directed to have their parents sign the letter as written acknowledgment that they were aware of the regulation and then return it to the school. **

Indications suggest that this is changing, however. Hartsburgh is a relatively new school and is still engaged in establishing itself as an institution. In its short history, considerable use has been made of the self disciplining potential of the students. A Citizenship Corps - those concerned with making the school a better place - has been charged with enforcement, and each morning, during the first period, two students from the Corps go quietly from classroom to classroom with a list, handing out summons. In the past, such infractions were generally brought before the student court and tried there. While this procedure still exists, a new and more formidable one has recently been instituted. An assistant principal has been appointed, charged with discipline, and he is now taking over many of the problems previously assigned to the student court, especially those reported by the teachers. In consequence, Parkinson's Law is having its inevitable effect. It seems that with the increased bureaucracy and the greater interest all around the students are being caught more often. This has been done, according to our information, to give the assistant principal, formerly an excellent teacher, an opportunity to learn how to be a principal and eventually, to earn a promotion.

There is a kind of automated consistency at Hartsburgh. The students there do not express hostile feelings, but they are also not apathetic. They are concerned: their concern is about success. In that sense the subornation technique has been entirely successful. It seems a shame the school may be in the process of giving up on it. For at Hartsburgh they want to do what they have been taught they ought to do:

> I like to do as well as possible since I plan to go to college. I do not like to do poorly on tests and I think this is one of the most unpleasant things which could occur.

The evidence so far suggests that at Parma, the respondents felt a kind of loss, that they were worried and often confused, as they accepted the plight of growing up. At Hartsburgh they are more accepting, more willing to fit themselves in. They have come to terms with their predicament, and have learned that the only sensible thing to do is to make the most of it. It is after all an orderly future they are preparing for, and even, in a way, one that will be rewarding. There is a kind of practical wisdom to be gained in school and Hartsburgh students actively seek it. As one young lady says:

**Items #30, 56, and 55.

*Items #12 and 28.

> During my years of high school I have had the opportunity to learn what I am looking for in the future. I have never been Queen of the Prom or president of a Club but the experiences I have received and the knowledge I have gained are far more important.

D. MILGRIM HIGH SCHOOL

> A typical American community of some 50,000 population, close to national averages in the kind of people who live there, and in their incomes and other social characteristics. Between 1960 and 1962, the percentage of graduates going on to further schooling rose from 27% to 53%. The number of job-seekers unemployed at graduation dropped from 18% to 6%. Dropouts were reduced from 6% to 2%, and, in 1962, some of those who had dropped out were coming back, or were enrolling in vocational schools. Also, student marriages dropped from 4% to 2%.

This is how Milgrim is described in a brochure attached to a recent film sponsored by the U. S. Office of Education. Such achievement is certainly creditable and suggests a forward looking institution endowed with energetic leadership and dedicated to the maximum utilization of available facilities in furthering the advance of the young people charged to its care. There is current, however, another view of Milgrim:

> The worst thing that ever happened to me in this place was the day I enrolled in here! I hate it here!

And, in passing conversation with a teacher:

> We're just a suburban slum.

The contrast between the image in the brochure and these comments is striking, even shocking, and immediately one must question whether they are not simply the obloquy of isolated malcontents. Supporting evidence, though, suggests quite the opposite, and instead, that malcontentedness is a signal feature of life at Milgrim. Both schools described so far, Parma and Hartsburgh, have their incongruities, as Milgrim does too. But at Milgrim there is an added feature, that being that there the incongruity encourages high dudgeon, overt hostility, and often results in an oppressive authority.

Of all the schools in the sample Milgrim is most restrictive and punitive with respect to student freedom. Fully 14 pages of Milgrim's 48 page student handbook are concerned with correct behavior. This is almost three times as much attention as is given this subject in any of the other five handbooks consulted. And yet, Milgrim seems to have intended quite the opposite, as note the following, from the preamble:

> We should all like to see the number of rules kept at a minimum. Individual self-discipline on the part of each student is the only way to accomplish this. It is based on understanding and observing the code of behavior developed for the good of all.

Instructions follow, for the guidance of the students. This, for example, on Boy-Girl relations:

> Upon entering the high school the student will find himself faced with many new and bewildering problems. Among the most important of these is dating. For many, dating has already begun in junior high; for others, the parties and dances are a completely new experience. For all, the new found freedoms of cars and parties without chaperones or "musical chairs" seem vague in the limitations they impose.
>
> For the pupil to find his place in this social whirl, he must first decide what his purpose is in high school. If he realizes that it is to obtain an education, he will regulate his social life accordingly, if not, he will find his classes difficult, if not impossible.
>
> Whether or not to go steady is a matter of perennial concern; if not among the students, then most certainly among the parents. The one prime consideration which should guide you is that you are responsible for your actions; that they also reflect on your parents and school. An indecision on your part, even such a simple thing as holding hands in the hall, can be misconstrued as a mark of improper training. In simple words, this means: don't broadcast your affections all over the walls of the school; because, by the time the ink dries on

"John loves Mary", John probably loves Ella, and Mary is headover heels in love with Tom.

As for "smooching" in the halls, doorways, classrooms, corners, lockers, lunchrooms: Don't. It give your parents and the school a bad name, besides smearing the girl's lipstick.

Keeping these things in mind the four years of high school will provide healthy and normal development, not only physically and mentally, but also emotionally.

If there is any misconduct on the school grounds or disobeying of the school regulations the student may be tried by the Student Court.[9] If for any reasons he is not tried by the court, he will be referred to the Principal's office. All disciplinary action becomes a part of the student's permanent record, with the exception of student court cases. These records are often requested by employers and colleges.

As might be expected, Milgrim scores significantly high on Item #16 of the Ressentiment Index. The item reads: The school takes the position that students are too young to get too involved with one another. The teachers, nevertheless, disagree and maintain the opposite.

Washrooms are a special focus of concern with respect to student misbehavior at Milgrim. There, all washrooms are locked during the four minute recess between class periods. When the bell rings for the new period to begin a custodian methodically unlocks the doors of all the washrooms. Thus, although one would most likely assume that the appropriate time to use the bathroom would be between classes, the only time the facilities may be used is during regular class time. Consequently a pass given by a teacher is necessary for each occasion of use. "Why," our school evaluator inquired of one young man, "are the washrooms locked between classes?" "Too much smoking." was his answer. One further item on washrooms: of the 902 students in the study only 14 included bathrooms as part of their classroom design for the Non-Verbal test. Six of these were submitted by students at Milgrim, reflecting, it would seem, a felt need.

The Ressentiment Index data gives further evidence of the censurious spirit that saturates Milgrim. The overall score for the two Indexes places Milgrim second highest at 69.2 out of 135, only half a point below Martingale. Milgrim teachers and girls both score highest for all schools for their categories, with the girls' scores almost as high as those of the boys. Where, on the average, there is a three-point spread between boys and girls scores, at Milgrim the spread is less than one point.

Such high scores lead to the impression that Milgrim is highly ressentient, an impression with which we are not entirely comfortable. It is not that the school may not want to be, for the extensive quotation on boy-girl relations suggests the opposite. Rather, we have always tended to view ressentient hostility as secretive, as veiled in propriety, whereas the pattern at Milgrim is consistently forthright, as well as harsh.

Among the statements on which Milgrim scores significantly in terms of keyed Ressentiment are: A student who gets on anybody's black list here has a pretty hard time; it practically takes a lawyer to get him off, and: If a teacher or administrator accuses a student of misbehavior here, there isn't much he can do to defend himself. While the teachers disagree on these two, they do agree with the student respondents that: Students here often feel like they are butting their heads against a stone wall. *

Two other statements of interest score significantly, and on both the teachers disagree, and for good reason, as they refer snidely to the corruption of the teaching function. They are: The way to get good marks here is to tell the teachers what they want to hear, and: Playing up to teachers and getting on their good side is the smart thing to do around here. These are only a few of the items on which Milgrim scores significantly, chosen to suggest that student respondents see their school as an alien, even hostile force which must be dealt with, almost, it would seem, as if it were an enemy. This pose is not altogether mistaken either. Success comes hard at Milgrim, harder than at any other school. Our Milgrim sample reported the poorest academic performance of any sample group - a grade average of 76.7 percent. By comparison most of the sample groups average around 80. percent with St. Elmo's at the top with a grade average of 84.1.**[10]

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[9] According to student respondents there is no longer a student court at Milgrim.

[10] Of great interest are a number of items on which both Milgrim and Martingale scored significantly and in parallel. These will be discussed in Section E - Martingale.

*Items #42, 52, and 25.

**Items #5 and 43.

Responses to the Best-Thing-Worst-Thing test support these observations and even, in degree, explain them. Going back again to the smoking syndrome we find one young man's Worst Thing was:

> I got caught smoking in school. If they had a smoking place for us no one would have to sneak. Most of the kids mothers and fathers let them smoke so why not the school. The school don't know what there talking about most of the time. Most of the teachers send you down the office and then make the offence that you did worst then what it really is. As much as I dislike the school I still need school and I like the kids. So I guess its not really to bad.

And another girl had this to say:

> The worst thing was my being caught smoking in the girlsroom. I have permission to smoke, but I don't appreciate it being on my card permanently.

And in an entirely different context:

> The time I got suspended for one day just because a teacher think my dress was to short, but it wasn't.

The "but it wasn't" is an important part of the last statement. It is difficult to believe that a Hartsburgh student would ever make such a statement, and while a Parma student might, she would probably then catch herself, deny she had said it, and twist it all out of shape. Unlike the other schools described, these young people at Milgrim stick to their guns and stick together. For example, an exceptionally large number of Milgrim respondents (25%) singled out various aspects of peer group interaction as the best thing for them.

Milgrim students enjoy expressing themselves vigorously. It was the only school where a considerable number of students (9%) pointed out that the best thing was to be participating in the project itself. To be able to tell someone off and to be paid for the privilege to boot, well:

> I was chosen to take this test for a duce, and then another one for another six bills. Best of all, you should see the chick I got to look at, while I'm taking this test.

Yet, there is a nagging worry that runs as a constant theme through Milgrim responses, that being the Record. Unlike Hartsburgh, with its Rep, which is something one carries in his very being, the record is an artifact, with an independent existence. Remember the young lady threatened by being caught smoking in the girl's room - she didn't want it on her card. There are others:

> I guess nothing has happened to me because I wont let myself get into trouble because I want a clean record here.

And:

> The worst thing was when I got sent to the office for fighting with this boy who broke my ring. It may sound childish but I was so scared. I was sent to the office and they gave me three days detention. My mother was mad and it was just a horrible experience talking to the principal and the detention went on my record for that year.

At Milgrim to keep out of trouble is to keep your card clean, and with a little luck, one often succeeds. A year completed with a clean card represents progress, and is about all that the run-of-the-mill Milgrim student hopes for:

> Nothing good happens here because things are so dull and boaring. You just do your work and pass or else stay another year.

In the introductory paragraph to this chapter Milgrim is described as typical, and this is true statistically. In socio-economic terms it stands somewhat lower than Hartsburgh, but still, on the whole represents comfort rather than deprivation. Yet the evidence describing the institutional press suggests a way of life rich in negative affect and steeped in conflict. On the one hand there is a clear line of authority in the hands of the educators, authority that is enforced and seemingly carrying with it in its Record severe sanctions. On the other hand, there is a student body not too strong in academic competence but most independent in spirit. There is evidence from the statements about smoking and "the dress that was too short" that there are two sets of values operating at Milgrim - the set imposed by the school and that of the students. The school's values are incorporated in its technique and represent the greater world of education and success; those of the students' emerge from the community out of which they come - the so-called suburban slum.

Data on the number of persons per room at home suggest that Milgrim students come from homes which are more crowded than is conventional for suburbia. While comfortable, these are not wealthy people; note that in professional and management occupations, Milgrim hardly exceeds the much poorer Caddo district. In effect, Milgrim is a blue-collar town, its workers are assemblers, truck drivers, meat cutters, and exterminators. They work with their hands. Work is important to them, and a part of their needs pattern. One of the R Index items on which both Milgrim and Martingale agreed, along with Parma and Havencrest, was #11: The best thing about courses in shop and homemaking is that they teach you how to enjoy working with your hands. One young man from Milgrim had this as his worst thing:

> The worst thing that ever happened was not being able to find work during last summer's vacation.

But Milgrim's young people attend a school with high aspirations for them - a modern, progress oriented, college focussed school. Here, it seems, is located the root cause of the conflict. As one young lady observes:

> Nothing drastic or bad ever happened to me in school. I never got caught doing anything. I have had only one detention in 3 years and got caught smoking once. They threaten you with death and destruction and its really very childish. They want every one to stay young and then graduate and get hit with life all at once.

Milgrim, known nationally as a "good" school, is in many ways a "tough" school. Nevertheless, apart from the items cited at the beginning of the chapter, it has little impact on its students. The reason for this enigma, however, is not that the school isn't trying to do well by its students, but rather that the values of the school are simply not at one with those of the community. Or, what is Worst is:

> Not understanding when I first came the other people, or my role. Feeling as if you don't like this type of society and would rather be someplace else.

E. MARTINGALE

> "If you're average - I feel that you're not better than anyone else, you're equal among both of them . . . you're equal to the better and you're equal to the worst."
>
> --A Martingale Student

Central to any understanding of Martingale is an awareness of the unique socio-economic pattern of the school district. Begun a number of years ago as an integrated housing development, Martingale Community is now a suburban hamlet of some 7,000, favored by few of the advantages of suburban living and afflicted with most of its problems. The school itself is new but small, the smallest public school studied, and the district is poor. Lacking a library, theater, or even an ice cream parlor, the hamlet has few facilities for its youth. Also, lacking prosperous commercial properties it has an inadequate tax base with which to support its schools. In consequence, teacher salaries at Martingale average between two to five hundred dollars below those of surrounding communities. Teachers, therefore, do not stay long, and less than 25 percent of the instructional staff has tenure.

At the present time some 60 percent of Martingale's residents are Negro, with this percentage growing. Another 20 percent are of foreign stock. Their houses are small, snug, and well kept.. Several have swimming pools. Surrounded by open fields Martingale is often described as rural. This cosy appearance is deceptive, however, for, unlike its neighboring suburban communities, Martingale is not progressing. Very few persons are moving in and building there. Its open land is not a sign of prosperity, it is instead a measure of its isolation from the burgeoning, surrounding suburbia. For, quite simply, Martingale is a pariah town, it doesn't belong.

When measured by median family income Martingale is not the poorest of the schools studied - Caddo is, with Martingale a close second at $5,854. But, by almost every other measure, Martingale ranks at the bottom. 54 percent of its employed work at jobs requiring no skill; only six percent have status or management positions. Of Martingale's families, only 10 percent earn more than $9,000 a year, unlike Delphi where 70 percent do. Many Martingale adults are employed at the state hospitals which abound in the neighborhood. Others work for small businesses - gas stations, contractors, and fuel oil vendors. In many cases mothers work as well as fathers; often on different shifts, and the children must care for themselves. The lot is not easy for Martingale's people.

Martingale is the one school studied which has, on the basis of census figures, a serious drop-out problem. Only 65 percent of its 14-17 year olds are enrolled in high school. Cultural deprivation, depressed goals, the many parentless and one parent homes, and economic need all suggest reasons for this poor performance. Moreover, as Martingale teachers take care to point out, when tested by standard intelligence tests, Martingale students rank average or below average in ability. They rarely have an opportunity to experience academic achievement in school. In planning coursework for such students, the school accepts that many of its students are slow and realistically recognizes its obligation to adjust the process to this slowness. This it does even as it rejects the implication that the slowness necessarily implies stupidity. But, if it is to work, such conscious adjustment certainly demands highly competent and expensive teaching, which is exactly the kind of teaching Martingale does not have the means to support. Given these trying circumstances, Martingale students can hardly be expected to perform as well as their more fortunate neighbors.

In sum, then, an underpaid staff, poor social facilities, discrimination, poverty, and low academic performance all cooperate to perpetuate a situation fraught with low morale on the part of both teachers and students. Martingale is a deprived area where people properly feel deprived, and where the young people might be expected to reflect this feeling. We must now ask whether, and in what manner they do or do not.

To begin with, Martingale students agree with the estimate above of their circumstances; they don't really want to be where they are. Their most popular of all Best Thing is field trips:

> I think the best thing that ever happen to me was when I went with my history club to Washington, D. C. It was very exciting and I could do it all over again.

Field trips, of course, are an adventure outside the school, a movement away. Martingale is the only school in which field trips figure at all in the Best-Thing-Worst-Thing test.

At 69.6 Martingale students also score highest for all schools on the Ressentiment Index. Here, their choices on many items paralleled those of Milgrim, and focussing on these items alone as a unit is particularly instructive. For the F-N Index there are 14 such items. * Together these items contribute over two-thirds of Martingale's range above average, and thus, when these specific items are subtracted from the Martingale score on the F-N R Index, it approximates the average for all schools. They are similarly important for Milgrim but do not contribute quite so dramatically towards inflating the overall score on the F-N Index.

Taken together, these 14 items roughly describe a vulgarization of the educational process. Outstanding among them, for instance, is #15: The teachers who have a good line, who know the latest jokes and who always manage to make the class hour a lot of fun, are the ones the students here like best. Two others denigrate teaching and learning: What students here like about biology is that a lot of good off-colored jokes can be told in class without anyone being the wiser, and: Students here know that poetry is supposed to be beautiful but deep down they also know that the biggest part of it is pure bunk. The two "cheating" items are also included: Most students here are not too proud to cheat on examinations, and: When they don't know the answers and you do, the other students here expect you to help them, such as when taking a test, by giving them a chance to see your paper. In other words, the intention is to make education into something that is fun, and if this is impossible, something that the student can, with the help of his fellows, handle.

By being vulgarized education is made tolerable for the young people who have to live with it. Going beyond the fourteen items to others we find Martingale students maintaining: It isn't how much you know, but it's how much you are willing to put up with that gets you good grades. While their teachers disagree with this item they do support the students when they maintain: Our guidance people are on the lookout for problems; they don't wait for the student

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*The items are #3, 8, 9, 11, 15, 17, 27, 29, 30, 31, 41, 58, 63, 73 on the F-N Ressentiment Characteristics Index. Only #3, 9, 15, 41, and 63 are introduced in the text.

to indicate he wants help. They both recognize that the school does try to reach out to its students. Altogether, Martingale students, through their responses to the Ressentiment Index, describe an alien system that sets standards for them of which they are aware, and while not in agreement with, are not necessarily against. For, after all, education has its instrumental value in Martingale; it can lead to a different way of life. And when it doesn't help in facilitating that escape, it can at least be so arranged as not to hurt.

Responses to the Best-Thing-Worst-Thing articulate the Martingale syndrome. While Martingale students have fewer Best Things to record than do students from any other school (See Table V-a in Appendix C) their answers, when given, have a substantial consistency about them, as was indicated earlier. Both varsity football and basketball are mentioned prominently as Best Things. For other Best Things, Martingale students are most concrete. They talk about things and people:

> When I started taking my art course in the ninth grade I found out I really could draw. I received a sewing machine, and I can really wear the clothes I make, so maybe I wasn't just dreaming after all I may become a fashion designer.

They are also practical in their aspirations, and it is in these terms that they accept the institution; when it can help them further these aspirations. The Best Thing, says one young lady:

> Is the time I got on the Honor Roll. It made me feel very proud and my parents also. I will try as hard as I can to keep up my work and try to get to be a Navy Nurse.

They are not consistent, however, when they eschew poetry, for they are often expressively poetic. They seem to be able to afford sentimentality, and are able to combine it with a quiet dignity. One Best Thing was:

> When I met a boy name Robert, my husband to be, in August. And also when I am almost on my own. I think being 18, is the best thing can happen to a teen-ager. Having responsibility of your own with loving parents.

Many Martingale students have a certain inner harmony which must be reckoned with when considering the institutional press established by the school. In their positive mode they come to terms with being average. One thoughtful young man, when being interviewed during Phase II of the project pointed out that he, himself, was average, and that what he was interested in was the average person. Affirming that he liked his own life with no one telling him what to do, he made a virtue of being average. Consequently the school, supporting as it does through its promotions and certifications an average-accessible form of competence, has something to offer these young people.

Negative Martingale responses are direct and personal. They single out individuals to dislike rather than processes to complain about:

> The worst thing is being in Mr. X's class. All he is is a conceited teacher. He thinks everyone should love him. I know I'm not good in his subject but he doesn't have to make me feel 1 inch high when he gets through talking to me.

And, again:

> The worst thing that happened to me was being put in Y's history class. That woman has got to go! Last year she failed me with a 45. Now again this year I have the bitch and leave it to her and I guess I'll fail again.

Along with personal embarrassment, failing a subject, and seeing the Principal, school fights are an important Worst Thing at Martingale. These may even involve teachers:

> The worst thing is when I lost my temper and got in a fight with a teacher. This hurt my name in school greatly (meaning I was a marked person). Since then teachers' are warned that I'm a bad guy, just because of that little misunderstanding.

On the other hand a fight can have its positive results:

> One day when I was in the Girl's Room two younger girls came in to the girls room and began to fight I stop them the teacher came in and Thank me for

stoping them it made me feel very good.

In their responses Martingale students describe a system with which they have made a certain peace. They are outward mobile if not upward mobile, and the school is a means of access to a greater world. Consequently, they are not as hostile towards their school as are Milgrim's students, even though they utilize many of the same terms in describing it. When they are unhappy they don't single out the school for blame, instead they castigate specific individuals. They accept the school as being all it can be.

Thus it is difficult to tell about the institution - Martingale - as the very mode of accomodation distorts the press itself. This pose is defensive as well as hopefully constructive, and encourages acceptance of the system, with all its apparent limitations. Are Martingale's students slow? It is not clear. That they are often incompetent is, however, and as such they are quite convincing about their slowness. This is the way the defensive pose expresses itself. Yet, standing against this is a certain directness, a sensible attention to matters at hand, and a kind of shrewdness such as one associates with peasants. As a result, the press, which is designed to make them what they probably want to be, and also probably cannot be, escapes them, loses them, or washes off. It isn't felt the way it is at Milgrim.

F. CADDO HIGH SCHOOL

> "The best thing that ever happened was when I played my first Football game and made the guy playing opposite to me know he wasn't messing with just a nothing."
>
> --A Caddo Student

More than 50 percent of our respondents reported that they often feel like they are butting their heads against a stone wall. At Milgrim and Ipswich the feeling was especially popular, whereas at Havencrest and Caddo it was not. Almost 60 percent of our respondents thought that their good teachers would expect a student to tell on a friend whom they knew was breaking the rules. Parma students were very firm in this conviction. St. Elmo and Caddo students reported otherwise. Caddo is also described by its students as a place where the main thing that keeps initiations from getting too rough is that the members and pledges really like one another. These items drawn from the Ressentiment Index encourage the impression that at Caddo students do not feel harrassed or driven. Otherwise, Caddo's response was unexceptional; the mean score for student respondents, 63.0 is close to the mean for all schools, and Caddo generates fewer significant items than does any other school. Teacher respondents differ, however, and report Caddo as being above average in Ressentiment (a score of 63.1 as against 56.1 for teachers for all schools) and thus, incidentally, rate their school somewhat higher than do the students.*

There really isn't too much to say about Caddo. In its own way it is a nice place, but why it should be is difficult to determine. While Caddo's median income - $5,830 - is the lowest for all public schools reporting, poverty does not seem to be an important element in Caddo life. The district is located at the outer margin of suburbia and is almost rural in character. Yet, Caddo's parents are primarily factory workers. Many of them are employed as machinists or assemblers in nearby airplane factories. When Caddo's mothers work, and as with Martingale, many do, their employment is categorically semi-skilled rather than unskilled. Only half as many Caddo men and women work as service workers or laborers as do Martingale parents. Thus, while in little danger of making a fortune, Caddo's parents are employed in stable, respected occupations. As with Milgrim's parents, they are generally blue-collar people.

It is a canon of local mythology that Caddo has a very large foreign population, composed largely of persons of Italian and Slavic-German extraction, and further, that as these persons are culturally conditioned to accept a working-class way of life, it is they and their progeny who account for the relative peace and calm at Caddo; the assumption being that they are not overly concerned with improving themselves, and for this reason can take success striving or leave it. However, neither the census data nor a name check of the students in the sample support this explanation, for Caddo's foreign stock composition actually differs little from that of Hartsburgh or Milgrim.

The high school, itself, is described by our project evaluator as an expensive school in a low income setting, and in discussing the matter with one of the teachers he elicited the following response: "The Community questioned our building such an expensive school - but it's good. People are poor here, and they look up to it. All the teachers are respected." Poor or not, they seem to have come to terms with their circumstances. It is especially notable that there is little evidence in student responses that the reported poverty is felt as such, or that it interferes with their activities, possibly because their activities are consonent with it. Their immediate concerns are their serious concerns, and they follow through with them.

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*Items #25, 19, and 6.

To Caddo students report cards are among the things both Best and Worst. One young man made his Best Thing point thus:

Report Card:	English	92	Drawing	95	Days Absent	0
	Math	96	Gym	95	Days Tardy	0
	Geography	91				

And for two others, their Worst Things:

> I found out I gotten left back.
>
> When I found out that I failed Algebra for the 3rd time.

In these responses, Caddo students contrast sharply with Hartsburgh. At Hartsburgh both acceptance in the community of success and creditable progress towards one's future were of vital importance. In keeping with this disconnected gratification, Hartsburgh student statements were pretentious and obscure. Here, at Caddo, grades, good or bad, are taken at their face value. The student respondent either likes it or hates it and says so.

Yet, there is more to Caddo than individuals winning small, immediate victories, or suffering for several bitter moments, a defeat. There is also that sweet reasonableness that is so unexpected. A Caddo student says:

> The best thing that ever happened to me in high school was the meeting and making of friends. This may seem to you unimportant, but not to me. These different people around me is what makes my years in high school so interesting. Each individual has something to offer: the teachers make you more intellectual with books and the students by their everyday actions.

Now, this certainly sounds stuffy, everyone is such a good fellow. Is it honest, or is it just something for the outsider to be impressed with? For Caddo, yes, it is honest in that it is the way young people there are. It isn't the "us" that is to be gratified; what counts especially is that it means something to "me". Consider also, among Worst Things, the following:

> The worst thing was that I had a big fight with my history teacher. I had asked for a pass to the girls room and when I came back I put the pass on his desk and the pass fell off and he thought I had thrown it their. He brought me out in the hall and he started to scream at me.

Were this Martingale the student stood in danger of becoming a "marked" person, at Milgrim it would go on the Record, at Hartsburgh, become part of the Rep, but at Caddo, the student continues:

> After that he didn't quite like me and I guess that I kind of disliked him too. But this year I have the same teacher for W. History and we are the best of friends. In fact I got a ninety this year.

Neither faculty nor students seem to be very concerned about remembering or punishing at Caddo:

> The worst thing that ever happened. It wasn't the fault of the school. I went to lunch instead of a study hall like I was told. It made me feel so bad because they really didn't punish me. I felt like a real heel. I'll never do it again for sure.

Sometimes, the permissiveness may upset the student, especially the transferee who probably remembers a much harder line at his other school and also, the time he spent learning to manage it:

> When I first came to this school I found out the teachers favor students too much and some teachers let students get away with murder and still pass them.

Sanctioned official procedures which seem on the surface to be characteristically *ressentient* are not uncommon at Caddo, and were such the intention of the institution they could be used as maliciously there as they might be anywhere. The student handbook, for example, actually gives guidance when it attempts to enumerate rules. It falls somewhere between the stools of direct authority and conventional bureaucratic technique:

> Efficient and orderly operation of any democratic institution requires that certain obligations be met by its members. It is inescapable that these obligations sometimes take the form of rules and regulations. It is, therefore, the responsibility of all students to familiarize themselves thoroughly with the procedures outlined herein and to abide by the rules that are so necessary for a smooth running school.

The "rules" are not such, exactly, but rather, are suggestions for appropriate conduct. On dress and grooming, the following:

> The general appearance and grooming of people reflects strongly on their characters and attitudes, and just as there are styles appropriate to work and play, so too are there types of dress and appearance considered acceptable in school. There is considerable difficulty in specifically stating the different types of dress which are within the framework of social propriety, so students are instructed by their teachers concerning the clothing, hair styles, etc., which are regarded in poor taste. Certainly one of the surest ways of exhibiting self-respect and gaining the respect of others is by displaying a neat and conservative appearance.

Should those in authority at Caddo ever become interested in making life difficult for the young people attending their school, such "rules" would certainly be adequate to the task. This is clear from the response to Episode IV of Phase II of the project, *The King's Visit.* Caddo's instructions to its students are phrased in the sacred cant of dissembling administration and are designed clearly to promote conventionality in the young. Used with malice, they can be made to hurt. But they don't seem to be so used at Caddo, and, in consequence, enthusiasm in its most adolescent forms continues alive there. Specifically, the students make a point of saying how much they enjoy their schooling:

> Before Caddo I was attending Glendennon (a nearby school). There all they do is have fights with another school. Then my coming to Caddo changed my whole out-look on school. Metting fine pupils and wonderful teachers.

What our examination of Caddo brings out is the element of context in establishing the relationship between a press and those subject to that press. It now seems clear that the press does not exist entirely in its principles but additionally, and more importantly, in the way the individuals in authority operate within the terms established by these principles. In this way the dialectical system we had originally recognized - an institution press standing against a set of students - becomes more complex. The press exists both as principles and procedures, and as persons charged with implementing these principles and procedures - teachers, counsellors, administrators, and sometimes even the secretary in the office. While the principles themselves may be more or less susceptable to *Ressentiment*, it cannot be properly argued that the *Ressentiment* will be found there. It exists only in the actions of those with an opportunity to express it when they express it, such as when in a position of authority they use this authority to express *ressentient* hostility. The procedures and practices of the institution are there to be used, and for most schools, their possibilities are exploited with considerable ingenuity. As used, they constitute the unique press of the institution, they give it its nature, and this is what we mean by context. Such presses as there are can be overtly oppressive, confused, steeped in *Ressentiment*, fair, or, we hope somehow, somewhere, friendly.

At Milgrim, the press is fierce and contradictory. Directing its students along paths chosen by the greater society, the school there is concerned with making its students into something they are not and it judges them and itself accordingly. The students reciprocate in the same spirit. This torment emerges as conflict within the school, and sometimes, as a gush of energy. At Caddo relative tranquility reigns, for the present, at least, a tranquility possibly born of indifference leavened with some sweet reasonableness. There, not much is asked of the young people either by the administration or the teachers. For their part the young people reciprocate, and live together with their mentors in peace, indulging themselves in adolescent enthusiasms. This has its price, though, as these same young people of Caddo often seemed, during the interviews, to be unusually ignorant and naive. That leaves us then with a question - whether it is more important to enjoy one's adolescence or to surrender it to the anticipation of one's future - and, with a hypothesis - that being, were Caddo to be put under pressure such as that at Milgrim would not its pot of anger also boil?

G. DELPHI HIGH SCHOOL

"In order to have things right I think everybody ought to cooperate."
--A Delphi Student

Students at Delphi are richly endowed. The county in which Delphi is located is reputed to be one of the wealthiest counties in the whole nation, and at better than $10,000 per year, the medium income for families in the school district is by far the highest for the public schools in the sample. Fifty-four percent of the adults in the district have had one or more years of college. Over half of those employed serve in high status professional, technical, and management positions. Very few of Delphi's mothers work, with those who do, working as teachers or in other professional positions. In keeping with its mobile-executive way of life, transience is a fact to be reckoned with at Delphi. In consequence of their parents having moved about the country and world, many of the young people queried had attended other schools, and this experience conditions their responses. Altogether, Delphites live comfortably, even richly, enjoying the benefits of affluent society. They also plan their lives in accord with its opportunities. The school reports their student body as being above average in intelligence, and the major program at Delphi as College Prep. Approximately 82 percent of Delphi's students go on to college - including, even, some of the few students registered in the vocational studies program.

A typical Delphi reaction to the Best Thing was:

> The best thing was the recognition of the importance of studies as opposed to popularity and having a good time. This occurred at the end of my sophomore year. I now realize that more enjoyment can be found by academic facilities rather than "having a good time".

And, an untypical reaction:

> I feel adjusted to this school and feel more like trying my very best to give my all in working for my school, both at my studies and outside. The undefinable something called spirit prevails in this school and I sincerely hope that other schools may learn the meaning of that word spirit, as Delphi has and thus make themselves better places for young Americans to grow up in.

Untypical, not through the willingness of this young Delphian to discharge his duty, however - this is quite common at Delphi - but rather, through his stress on school spirit. For he is the only respondent from Delphi to mention school spirit. The underlining of the word, sincerely, is his.

The word "routine" appears several times in the responses, such as, in the following:

> The best thing was when I met the Canadian girl I'm going with now. Most everything else around here is routine. This was probably the best thing.

And while not mentioned in the following, this "routine" is certainly implied:

> First of all, not very many good things have happened to me in high school. But I guess the best thing that ever happened to me was taking Biology as a Freshman. The teacher was very sharp and funny - the only thing was I didn't learn anything. The whole year was a real blast. All my friends were in my class and we had a ball. We took a field trip to the beach but it was really a beach party. We disected frogs and peeled their skin off and put pieces of the frogs into our enemies' lunch sandwiches. And they ate them. It was very funny but horrible. That was the last time we ever got to disect, for obvious reasons. So this was the best thing that happened to me in high school. I have taken many rough intellectual courses and when the going gets too rough I just think back to those happy days and this helps me to relax.

In retrospect, these seem vain, deluding joys, this brood of folly obscuring a melancholy day-to-day existence. There is something quite Apollonian about Delphi, with this a Dionysic moment that punctuates the sentence. Following one of the interviews for the Q-Sort a young man asked permission to stay around as he had a question to raise. "It's about the social situation in high schools," he said, "especially the dating situation." He continues:

> I've noticed there are several different classifications to daters. One is the fraternity boys who more or less have a girl every week. And another, which I want to know if this is the same in other high schools around the country, is when you start going with a girl, the rest of the students accept this, they accept the fact that you're going with her, there is rarely any chance to change. You are, it may not be actually going steady, it is what I have termed going steadily, in that you do not feel like, you see no way to break from it and change. You may not want to, but even if you did you see no way to change. No one else will date the girl because they have accepted that you are going with her and are not going to start dating her. Does this occur elsewhere or, is it generally the same?

After the interviewer answered that he did not know, as no one else had raised the question, the young man continues:

> It seems that often the class is paired off. That's what I mean. And this is... can be sad, unless, like a friend of mine recently, over the summer he was going with a girl... and... they near the end, the beginning of the school year, they were beginning to, to be a bit unhappy and the girl realized that she did not want to go with this boy all the time... she did not want to hurt him, so she did not want to tell him. He did not know what the heck was going on. She suddenly was... er, trying to keep away from him, she'd ignore him, she'd... not talk to him, and he, this is a basically bad situation, and I happen to know them quite well and I told him, talked to both of them and I told him, so he stopped going with her and this is, now he is going with other girls, and this, it seemed to work out fairly well.
>
> ...I also am going with a girl, I have been since a year ago, and... what I am disagreeing with, or possibly rebelling against is that... if I wanted to change, it would be very hard. And there would be, I don't know what the other students would think... but they just expect it of you after you've gone with a girl for a couple of days. And while I'm quite happy in my personal situation, I don't believe that this is right, this is, it ties people down too much, and if they should want to change, being afraid of public opinion... is enough to... except for the fraternity boys which I think that's even... more sickening where you see one boy one day walking down the halls holding hands with one girl and the next day with another, and that just... is revolting to me. But this is the thing I want to know about, if you see any... possible solutions....

After more discussion, the interviewer describes the situation as a "sort of conferred... informal marriage." The young man continues:

> That's right, that exactly what I mean. I, I noticed it last year. When you walk up they always leave two seats, when you're, when you walk up to a girl, and she's talking to her friends, they walk away...

Then:

> ...you're held together, partly, one thing I've seen, now if I decided well I'm not going to go with this girl any more or maybe not to this dance or something, and I go with another girl, first of all, people will be quite surprised... they'll, really they'll start wondering. Second of all, nobody else will take the girl I had been going with...

And, when asked if he had any ideas on how this institution had arisen, he answered:

> It seems to me that it's just... probably sprung from the situation in the schools themselves that... the teenagers outlook on life, the teenagers... I don't know, I don't think of it right now... Well, he's a bit more... striving for something that, striving to settle down, possibly for success... and possibly if he is going with this girl, he is in a bit, a way, identifying this with success and with settling down, so to speak. And I'm afraid this situation does lead to, this is a situation that does lead to early marriages.

While this discussion is highly specialized as to its subject, it brings out again an oppressive quality which has been institutionalized at Delphi. In this example it is the students themselves who cooperate in pressing towards misery. One Worst Thing reported is more direct. Consider Miss C.'s discovery of existential despair:

> The worse thing is dispair. If I have trouble with my lessons, can't understand, and no time, this is the worse thing.

From whence comes this melancholy, then, that has settled in on these young people so favored in their material circumstances? One possible source may be the unsettled lives they have lived. Many of them report how they have moved from place to place and can expect to move again. This transience seems to have left its mark. Delphi is the Best Thing to one respondent because:

> The best thing so far thats' happened is being able to meet people and have close friends. This is the first place where we have stayed long enough for me to make good friends (of both sexes).

Another student comments, more generally, on the Worst Thing:

> Changing from one high school to another which is completely different in all aspects such as the curriculum, teachers, methods, students, size, etc. Such a change was from the European schools to schools here in the United States. The subjects and subject matter were completely different because stateside schools keep up with the times and European schools don't an example is math. Europe has never heard of the new math so therefore don't teach it but since stateside schools do the change over is very hard.

Other students, in their response to the Best-Thing-Worst-Thing test, describe experiences in schools which they had attended other than Delphi. Several of these responses refer to genuinely happy events that had not taken place at Delphi. Thus, it does seem reasonable that changing schools contributes to the pervasive melancholy at Delphi. However, there are other sources of the mood also to consider.

In one perspective Delphi appears much less oppressive than several of the other schools discussed, for the project evaluator reports that the students there are allowed much greater freedom of movement than other schools. As they change classes the students are permitted to use the pay telephones in the halls; and corridor passes do not have to be signed - often they are not used at all. There is no real fuss about smoking in the toilets, nor is there with respect to how the students deport themselves while eating in the cafeteria. Lunch is an occasion when the students may eat, sit, talk, and study pretty much as they see fit. It is not, as is so often the case in other schools, another opportunity for policing.

Delphi also ranks relatively low in its scores on the Ressentiment Index, with an overall score of 58.0 out of 135. Thus it places third from the bottom, just above Ipswich and Havencrest. One reason for such a low score overall for Delphi is the practice respondents there have of answering true on items keyed false-as-Ressentiment. Among those on which Delphi scores lowest of the low, and significantly, are: A club here can invite any speaker it wants to hear to give a talk at school, The school paper is pretty free here; any problems it leads to get thrashed out informally without too many hard feelings, The main thing that determines who is in what cliques in this school is whether the members like one another. Delphi also is low but not lowest of all on: The faculty here make you feel like they take an interest in students, and are there to help if you need them, but they generally leave you alone until asked. The teachers concur, and agree with the students that these are all characteristic of the school.*

Another perspective, however, presents a somewhat different picture of Delphi. While Delphi students feel that: Students here are left pretty well to themselves to do what seems reasonable to them in their clubs and activities, and score their school lowest on this item for all nine schools, their teachers are less confident. Three out of the six responding score this item as false for Delphi. There are also four items of interest in which Delphi students score significantly high in terms of keyed Ressentiment. These are: Some teachers here make you feel like you don't know anything. The administration tries to see to it that cliques don't get a chance to dominate in any activity. When you miss school for any reason, you have to have a note from your parents to get back in. And: A girl who went too far here and got into trouble would be suspended or expelled.** When these items are taken together with those in the previous paragraph we find a press that seems free, and yet has some obscure iron in it. The young people accept the existence of cliques, and that as members of them they are bound together with positive, personal feelings towards individuals, but that such cliques are not to become instruments of power in the school. All six teachers agree with the students that the cliques at Delphi have an enemy in the administration. This is also consistent with the impression one gets later from the Q-Sort data, that being that at Delphi there is a certain area of freedom allowed the young people in terms of what they can do, but not in terms of how they might feel. As the young lady says in the introductory sentence, "everybody ought to cooperate."

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*Items #80, 84, 14, and 6.

**Items 44 and 63, 46, 38, and 54.

We mentioned earlier that there was little pressure about smoking at Delphi, that the school seemed unusually reasonable to our evaluator when compared to the other public schools. Yet, there are rules about smoking there, as there are about almost everything else. And these rules also carry real authority for they are issued by the County School Board to be enforced by the school. To facilitate enforcement Delphi issues a parent's handbook, making it clear that they are dealing with the parents of their charges as much as they are with the young men and women themselves. The parent's manual says, of smoking:

> No student is permitted to smoke in the school building, on the school grounds, or in any area adjacent to the school, or on school buses, while the student is under the jurisdiction of school authorities. For a first offense, a warning will be issued; for a second offense, the student will be suspended from school for a period of five (5) days; for a third offense, the student will be dismissed from school with reinstatement only by action of the County School Board. All smoking offenses are cumulative from year to year...

This is the iron, then, in the rules and regulations imposed by the civil authorities, to be enforced by the school. The following is on correct conduct as it is conceived at Delphi:

> Students must conduct themselves in class in such a manner that they will not cause disturbance or annoyance to the instructor or to any of the other students. They are required to be respectful, cooperative, and obedient to the directions of the teacher at all times. Conduct of students when not in class must be normal and above reproach. This includes proper behavior at all social, athletic or extra-curricular activities conducted at the school or under the auspices of the school. Students guilty of overt acts of improper conduct, such as insubordination, disrespect, disobediance, and defiance of authority will be summarily sent home until parental conference may be arranged.

This hardly sounds like the kind of environment of feeling in which education can take place. Under such an authorization it should be relatively easy to institute a reign of terror.

This makes for a most complex press. Operative in a situation defined by an authority alien to the institution, and one that constantly reiterates its intention to impose punishment against both the students and their parents, the school has developed a method for dealing with its students that works, after *a manner of speaking. This is the technique of tension* reduction through management by which those in control discourage affect in the name of order and discipline. In this way everything stays peaceful.

As a matter of practice Delphi seeks to avoid crises, to manage things so no difficulties will arise. To succeed at this the school, along with allowing considerable latitude to begin with, keeps a sharp eye out for potential trouble, and at the right moment intercedes against its development. This is done to make certain that problems are dealt with inside the limits established by the County Board, so that nothing gets out of hand and becomes a "federal case". This intersession may be through mediation, distraction, or manipulation. In consequence, there is peace on campus, somewhat like Caddo's, but with a different intention. At Caddo the peace is not maintained out of awareness, but more certainly, out of diffidence. At Delphi, it is the product of ominous forboding, it seeks to produce an Apollonian calm, and commits the young people to its maintenance. It is for this reason, the young people there lose their enthusiasm, as they accept their melancholy duty. Tension management implies the tension being managed and in its repression encourages the use of manipulative authority. And, when successful, it leaves its mark:

> The best thing that has happened to me is the intellectual stimulation I have received from friends and teachers. I have been made to realize that there are many ideas and opinions besides my own. Some of these ideas have added to and changed my own opinions, others I have completely disregarded. I am grateful for each idea I have come in contact with, whether I have accepted it or not, because each idea has helped develop me as a person.

H. HAVENCREST HIGH SCHOOL

> We experiment here... we will try almost anything, if we think it will help get our students involved in their own education. With us experimenting isn't something you do once in a while, it is a way of life, a way we encourage our students to work at thinking, talking, and reading.
>
> --A Havencrest Administrator

Located in the South, Havencrest has both a warm geographical climate and a sunny institutional disposition. It is an outdoor school. The classrooms, a spiderweb of barracks-type buildings, are surrounded by walks and paths, and by outdoor seating areas. The occasional coke machine and the generous supply of grass and shrubbery further contribute towards making the school a comfortable place in which to be.

Comfortable describes the homelife of the Havencrest students also. The family income reported is about average for the sample-that is, when the data for the Negro community at Havencrest are excluded from consideration, a reasonable adjustment as the district is not yet integrated. Havencrest parents work in the city itself, at business, at skilled crafts, in the many motels and resort facilities, and at a nearby federal installation and its associated industries. Many report employments classified as professional, technical, or management, and more than one quarter have incomes over $9,000 a year. One of several small, thriving cities somewhat bunched together, Havencrest is close to a major fruit-farming area and surrounded by resorts. There is no central city associated with it, and it is as cosmopolitan as any of its neighbor cities. This is, however, at its liveliest, relatively a modest form of cosmopolitanism. The annual football homecoming game is possibly Havencrest City's major cultural event of the year.

In their responses Havencrest students are supremely adolescent. They are spontaneous and are not afraid to talk excitedly, about love and life. To Miss C., the Best Thing was:

> When I thought I was in love..... very happy..... Whenever I feel as if I'm really learning something or an entirely new thought is presented to me.

And even seriously, about death. Consider her Worst Thing, so forthright, so thoughtful:

> I can't think of any bad things that are important or that made any great impression on me. I guess that when a boy I knew was killed in a car accident I really did some serious thinking but really didn't feel too badly about it for death is natural and it doesn't make any difference when you don't know its coming.

When they are not in class, Havencrest students are free to move as they see fit in and around the school - there are no corridor passes. Consider one of the effects of this, what would seem to be from previous evidence, rather rare policy of freedom, in the words of one young lady:

> I think my best thing was when I started hanging around with Susie. 'Cause then I got to know Johnny. In the morning I'll go all the way over to the 1st wing just to see Johnny. Susie's got her 1st period over next to his room. Then I'll run all the way back to the 3rd wing in order to get in before the bell. It gives you a good feeling to know that you belong to a crowd. Mine is the biggest and I talk to everybody instead of being choosey. I think its really sharp the way Haven Hi lets the girls come to school with boys in cars and leave that way. They don't think kids smoking is indecent eitha!

Unlike Delphi, Havencrest responses are infused with positive school spirit and a real feeling by the pupils that they count. Charles, who includes the fact that his nickname is Ronnie on his questionnaire, declares:

> The best thing was coming here for school is a whole series of "best things". These people really know what we want and satisfy the large majority.

To a young lady, this was best:

> The best thing that ever happened to me was I learned to speak up in class. I would always be afraid to ask a question or answer any. The teachers make it so easy for you to talk to them.

To most of the students Havencrest is Haven Hi. They identify closely with it and are proud to be part of it:

> The most eventful thing that happened to me in Haven High was participating in the Concerts given by the music section. It was a wonderful feeling to sing in a group with the auditorium filled with people. When the Concert Choir finished and everybody stood up and applauded I was very proud of Haven High.

And again, this from a young lady:

> Well, I've only been to high school two years, this is my sophomore year. The most important thing that happened this year at "Haven Hi" was when we won our football game against our local rival. It was a great game and everybody had a lot of school spirit. We won 20 to 7 it was a lot of fun.

Another student, almost transferred to another high school, testifies to the loyalty students have for Havencrest:

> The best thing that ever happened in high school was being allowed to graduate from Haven Hi. The county built a new high school in my neighborhood and all students living there were to attend that high school. . . . . For two years already I have been attending HHS and a new school would not have been "home" to me. But that is not the only reason for most of my friends now attend the other school. The main reason was because of the courses HHS offers, specifically US & World Affairs as well as German II. Besides these classes, the faculty at Haven Hi is, to me, the ideal faculty - enthusiastic, knowledgable, and knowable as well as having a real interest in me and the world.

Havencrest ranks lowest of all schools studied with respect to the number of Worst Things its students report; their average score is 0.97 items per student, in contrast to St. Elmo's 1.53 items and Parma's 1.48.[11] It is also the only school where "Nothing" is the most common Worst Thing response, with 17 percent of the students so responding. Havencrest students follow this with personal embarrassment (13%), and then their reactions spread out -- almost as if they were searching for things to list -- with the result that seven categories appear tied for third place and four for fourth place in the Worst rankings. They are spontaneous. In the other schools, this failure to concentrate on specific categories, does not usually appear until after the fourth placed category in the rankings.

From all the evidence Havencrest is a friendly place to go to school; a joyful spirit abounds and even the negative responses, what there are of them, fail to detract. The results from the Ressentiment Index support this observation, with Havencrest ranked near the bottom for all schools, just above Ipswich. Unlike Ipswich, however, and despite its low score overall, there are very few items on which the Havencrest scores differ significantly from the Grand Average. Instead, respondents there are less likely than in any other school to affirm items keyed as giving evidence of Ressentiment, and the school rates low on almost all items. Havencrest teachers agree with their students, and rank their school lowest for all schools.

There are a few significant items for Havencrest, and among them, students affirm strongly that: The faculty here make you feel like they take an interest in students, and are there to help if you need them, but they generally leave you alone until asked. Also on the item: When you miss school for any reason, you have to have a note from your parents to get back in - they do not agree. Here they differ sharply with Delphi, where such a note is mandatory. Havencrest does not seem to be as concerned as are some of the other responding schools with bringing home to their students the extent to which they are dependent on their parents.*

Comfortable, friendly, supremely adolescent, these are the words used so far to describe Havencrest. It sounds like education there may be largely a matter of making the environment a "lot of fun." This is not true, however, for Havencrest students disagree emphatically with the item: About all that means anything to kids in this school is having a good time.**

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[11] See Tables V-a and V-b in Appendix C and Appendix D for this data on all schools.

*Items 88 and 94.

**Item #90.

In this response Havencrest agrees with St. Elmo and Ipswich, the two private schools, schools which are notable in having an academic press. A similar item in the Stern *R* Index supports this observation, as does a report by Professor Gold that a student at Havencrest did not want to take the tests, despite the stipend, because he "didn't want to miss Physics." So, it isn't all fun. However, responses to the Q-Sort again suggest that young people who are allowed their adolescent ways have difficulty in developing academic facility. Both at Caddo and at Havencrest respondents make many technical errors (such as Peasant Error which will be explained in Part III), are frightfully innocent, lose their way in explaining choices on the Q-Sorts, and often subside into incoherence. Still and all, they are easy to like and at Havencrest, there are notable exceptions to this deficiency. While there are many students there who meander badly there are others who are positively extraordinary in their brightness and good sense.

In terms of *Ressentiment*, then, are there any negatives at Havencrest? The answer is, there are. On a number of items Havencrest respondents score significantly high. Of these, they agree that: Initiations here are carefully controlled to see that there isn't any rough stuff, and that: The administration has succeeded in getting "hell week" replaced by "help week"; pledges go out and help in hospitals and such places instead of being hazed. They disagree with the statement that: The main thing that determines who is in what cliques in this school is whether the members like one another. Interestingly enough, these are all focussed on relationships amounf peers, and suggest that the peer group is important at Havencrest, and that such student activities are a matter of some concern on the part of the Havencrest administration. *

In their interviews during Phase II of the testing, Havencrest students stressed again and again teamwork and helping. They are part of a cooperative venture - their school - and it is through this cooperation among equals that the established authority approaches them. Havencrest handles "drop-outs" in exactly this manner. The students there are asked to identify those among their friends who might be planning to leave school prior to graduation. Such potential drop-outs, when identified, are then invited to meet with the Student Drop Out Committee - composed of three students who had dropped out and then returned and one other student. The Drop Out Committee discusses with the potential drop out his reasons and his problems. If it is a matter of scheduling so that he can take afternoon employment they are empowered to intercede for him to get his schedule adjusted. If they find he is under the illusion that there is money to be made outside, they tell him of their own experiences. And so forth. They try always to be supportive and to make him aware of the real consequences of his action.

Given this, then, why should students attenidng a school that sounds basically so comfortable and so accepting of adolescent values disagree so strongly that cliques are held together by friendliness among those in the clique? Two reasons can be suggested, the first being that fellow-feeling is expected of all Haven Hi students at all times and that it is not really proper to make distinctions among their fellows. This is supported by the stress on helpfulness and teamwork in the interviews, especially by the girls. On the other hand, peer group relations can sometimes be rough at Havencrest, for "manliness" is very important there. Consider this Worst Thing:

> The worst thing was in a completely different situation, than ever before. I had just backed down from a fight with a boy larger than I. I usually never engage in things of this sort, but my steady who I feel very deeply about had been insulted. Here people don't walk away from fights, but I have been taking Karate for nearly a year now and could have killed this boy... I walked away because he was only trying to antagonize me and call me out.

This may not be too convincing a response. It does, however, suggest the degree to which the institutional press at Havencrest includes an important peer group component, one based on forming, adolescent, values. And also, that Havencrest too, as with Delphi, must engage in tension management.

There is, in addition, another significant element in the press at Havencrest which should be singled out - the principal. For the school is a despotism, a benevolent despotism, to be true, but still, a place where control is identified with a person, and not so much with institutionalized prescriptions. Havencrest's principal makes a serious effort to involve the students; to such an extent that this effort has actually become a *modus operandi*, as is suggested in the introductory paragraph. In consequence, his work is never ending, he must be constantly inventive, resolute in his dealings with outsiders - the city, the parents, the county and state educational authorities - and enthusiastic. For without constant recharging such experimentalism could easily lead to cynicism or indifference and the spirit be dampened. Furthermore, his efforts, when successful, and they often are, undermine such tension management as there is, for they increase the affectual involvement of the students. Having cut his student body off from the surrounding community and encouraged them to grow in their own terms, he has assumed a great responsibility, one that places great demands on his own vitality. And, given his method, he cannot withdraw, he must work at his job all the time.

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*Items #50, 64, and 14.

Of all the schools, Havencrest is the one that is most clearly led. In sociological terms, it is a movement, still forming, still becoming. What it can become may be something else again. The actual procedures used are often *ressentient* in form, examples being "help week", the stress on team work, and even the estimable drop out program. These all *can* be used vengefully, in the best, most pious tradition of *Ressentiment*. As with Caddo, the possibilities for *ressentient* action exist. It is to the credit of the institutionalized authority that they do not seem to be taken advantage of to the fullest extent possible. However, the experience at Havencrest, as with the experience at Caddo, supports further the proposition that *Ressentiment* exists contextually, and not so much in specific principles and practices. On balance, the differences between Havencrest and the other schools in the sample are not exceptional, nevertheless, Havencrest is something special. It is a good place to grow up in, possibly about as good a place as institutional life permits. The young people there are allowed to live their adolescence through and there is leadership there strong enough to do this allowing. "My best thing", says Miss K. was:

> Getting the privilege of going to Havencrest High. I'm grateful for being a student at Haven-Hi.

The evidence gives little cause to disagree with her.

I. IPSWICH

> "No particular incident can be written as one which strongly bore significance. This school has given me a chance to look at myself in retrospect. To perfect or attempt to perfect my life as I see fit. My endeavors to this end are influenced quite a bit by my environment here."
>
> --An Ipswich Student

An independent, coeducational boarding school with students from twenty states and four foreign countries, Ipswich is clearly a different school, very much unlike any of the seven so far discussed. A small school, it has a student body of 155. By comparison, Delphi has over 1,700 students and Milgrim, over 1,500. Two-thirds of the Ipswich students live on the ninety acre campus, and the other third are day students from a nearby city. The eleven Ipswich teachers also live on the campus, either in faculty houses or in dormitory apartments. Ipswich has a long tradition behind it and a substantial awareness of its purpose. It was founded in 1796 by the Protestant sect, with which it is still associated, and as for its purpose, it is meant to be a community of learning devoted to the preparation of young people for college and for life. In its catalogue Ipswich describes itself as:

> The school is small enough so that teachers can keep in close touch with each student's progress, but large enough so that boys and girls learn to "stand on their own feet".

And further, that:

> The development of the finest in each boy and girl is the goal, but it is recognized that this comes only through a degree of self-discipline and in serving in some way the community where one lives. Personal integrity and friendliness are valued highly.

Consonant with this estimable statement of purpose is the Best Thing of one young Ipswichite:

> The best thing was that my parents took me out of the terrible conditions that prevailed in public school. Here at Ipswich, I can be myself without being criticized. It has given me the opportunity to become open minded and to understand all types of people and be able to live with them. I have begun to develop my basic principles and along with the prementioned statements, I feel capable of "standing on my own two feet."

Scoring 56.2 out of a possible 135, Ipswich ranks lowest for all schools on the Ressentiment Index, a half point below Havencrest and more than 13 points below the highest school of all, Martingale. At 44.2, Ipswich teachers also rate their school very low in observed ressentient practices and procedures, only a point above the score for the Havencrest teachers. Unlike Havencrest, however, Ipswich generates a large number of items for which the school score differs significantly from the average for all schools. Altogether, there are 31 of these items, out of a possible 75 on the F-N Index. On thirteen of these 31, Ipswich reports the lowest R score of all for the nine schools.* Among them are several which are quite interesting. The respondents support, for example, the proposition that teaching at Ipswich is both serious and competent. At Ipswich: The teachers who have a good line, who know the latest jokes and who always manage to make the class hour a lot of fun, are not especially liked, and Ipswich students are less strong than those from other schools in affirming: Good teachers are the ones who are good to students. They're understanding people who know that teen agers have lots of troubles and they try to help them all they can. At Ipswich, students are also measurably less: Discouraged from using their own opinions when answering essay questions. Such items suggest that Ipswichites are concerned about learning, and that classrooms are places for serious work. This is confirmed by the project evaluator who observes that at Ipswich, classes are consistently conducted on a most superior level. This is in stark contrast to his more general observation that, from school to school, there is little that distinguishes one class room from another.

Ipswich students also feel strongly about cheating on examinations. They maintain that students there are: Too proud to cheat on examinations. Further, they assert emphatically that tests should not be a cooperative venture among students and disagree with the statement: When they don't know the answers and you do, the other students here expect you to help them, such as, when taking a test, by giving them a chance to see your paper. In fact one upright young respondent includes, as her Worst Thing, an object lesson in betrayal centered on this value:

> I think the worst thing was early in my sophomore year. This was discovering that a senior girl who I really idolized and worshipped was not a virgin and was extremely wild and cheated on tests, etc. I had built up an image and it was shattered when I found this out. It hurt me but taught me some things.

Despite the overall low score on Ressentiment and the many positive elements touched on so far, the picture at Ipswich is not altogether encouraging. In fact the results from Ipswich constitute one of the reasons those of us engaged in the project became dubious about the Ressentiment Index is assessing the press of a school. There are also, in the 31 items for which the Ipswich score differs significantly from the average for all schools, eight items on which this school scores the highest of all. Again, these are instructive, for they suggest other dimensions to the press there.** Among them, and in striking contrast to the picture so far is the glum: Students here often feel like they are butting their heads against a stone wall. In this response Ipswich aligns itself with Milgrim, and against Caddo and Havencrest. Other items affirming Ressentiment include the classic statement of ressentient practice - popular everywhere, but even more popular at Ipswich - which states: A basic principle on the way this school is supposed to be run is that everybody gets equal treatment no matter who he is. Finally, and most interesting for a school devoted to college preparation, Ipswich gives a vigorous negative response to the item: Our guidance people are really helpful when it comes to advice about careers and college.

Most interesting is the Ipswich response to the student newspaper items.*** On them Ipswich ranks lowest for all schools on: The student paper here is pretty careful not to print anything too critical of the faculty or administration, and: The student newspaper here is pretty careful not to report things in such a way that they might make trouble for the school with other people. On these two items, popular at all schools, Ipswich is mild in its affirmation. On the other hand, Ipswich reverses its position and denies, at a 65 percent level, that: The school paper is pretty free here; and problems it leads to get thrashed out informally without too many hard feelings. In making this latter response the Ipswichites disagree with their teachers.

What does this mean, this contrary response? It means, that even if Ipswich students are less inclined than most to attribute to the faculty or administration control over their student newspaper, they are also less inclined to condone such control, should it exist. Taken together the three items suggest a certain tension. If we add to them, then, the stone wall being butted against, we become aware of a special sensitivity to authority at Ipswich, and concomitant with all this, an image of life in the presence of the Ipswich press which is contrary to that suggested by the low R score, the fine old tradition, and the popularity of the Best Thing category, "Coming to This School."

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*Items #3, 5, 18, 19, 21, 28, 30, 41, 50, 60, 68, 70 and 73. Only items 18, 30, 51, 61, and 5 are introduced in this discussion.

**Items #8, 28, 34, 50, 56, 58, 68, and 69. Only items #28, 58, and 65 are introduced in this discussion.

***Items #2, 10 and 24. On 2 and 10 Ipswich ranks lowest, on 24 it ranks highest of all schools.

Let us enquire further. Curiously enough, considering the high verbal competence of Ipswich students, the Best-Thing-Worst-Thing responses are often ambiguous, and sometimes seem especially instructive in this very ambiguity. Consider, for instance, this careful effort at clothing emptyness in rich apparel:

> The vicissitudes of the past years have been such that no event in itself has been outstandingly inspiring or extra-ordinarily valuable. It would be better to say that I found most satisfying the small but personal circle of friends inside and outside of school, who have integrated interests and are both intelligent and intellectual without being counter-conformists or non-conformists.

Why so clever at saying nothing? Again, a Miss L. writes:

> I have acquired a kind of dignity on entering Ipswich, for I find myself alone quite often and have come to enjoy it. Other students have respected my need and therefore have added much to my personality. I have learned to come out of myself and be cheerful under uncheerful circumstances. I have met someone I like very much.

What does this mean about the school as a way of living? More direct, yet cunning, is the response:

> The best thing that has happened to me in high school has been the vacations when time is not scheduled.

Ipswich is a boarding school, and this fact intrudes, providing one explanation for the gloom, for boarding, by its very being, implies both a separation problem and total institutionalization. In the most positive spirit, a mobility mode is suggested:

> I came to Ipswich rather than attending the local public school. I have been exposed to a wide range of personalities. In academic life, I have often been stimulated and fascinated by possibilities for the future and with the abundance of knowledge. Ipswich has made me anxious to go on.

However, a different note, more poignant, yet also pious, is often struck:

> The worst thing was when I had to leave my family in order to get a good education. I don't regret my decision, but it was a painful one, since my family means a great deal to me. Having to leave them, each time, after coming home for a vacation, is a terrible wrench. It is less hard now, since I am getting attached to Ipswich, and more secure here.
>
> But I'll never forget that first time. I was fourteen and too young. My family drove away crying, as I was, and I was left in the parking lot, to face a whole new world. But I know now that it is a better one. It is a world of ideas, a world of intellectual achievements, and new hope for a very sad old world.

Not all of the students find it so easy to convince themselves.

The Worst Thing for another was:

> Being here at school at the time of Kennedy's death. I was very much affected by this and so were many other people. I would have liked to go home and think about it and recover myself. Here we were forced to go to meetings and assemblies and discussions and it all seemed quite put on.

The school is both parent and teacher to the young people who attend there - in loco parentis, as it is commonly said. In consequence the press at Ipswich must enclose more of the student's life than is the case in the home based school. In addition to the class room press and the school life press, which one finds in any school - Parma, Milgrim, or Havencrest - there are also the dormitories, the Saturdays to kill and the few opportunities offered to be a different kind of oneself. These are the kinds of things parents usually attend to. At Ipswich the school must be the parent. How does it do it? Nervously, anxiously, and not too effectively, it must be reported.

> In the Ipswich Handbook, there is the following about standards: In order for a community to exist, it must operate within a social framework. Regulations have been thoughtfully created to provide for the well-being of the individual. The larger the community, the more crucial it is that each individual respect and carry out his prescribed obligations.
>
> Hard work, sportsmanship, common decency, order and consideration for others are basic pillars of the Ipswich community. Graduation for a senior, or future schooling for underclassmen depend on his living up to Ipswich standards during the year.
>
> With this in mind, you are asked to familiarize yourself with the following rules and regulations:
>
> Smoking and drinking are not permitted. Tobacco or alcoholic beverages found in rooms or on one's person are considered an indication of use. Smoking and drinking will be grounds for expulsion. Flagrant disobedience, dishonest academic work, and co-ed dating activity at unspecified times and in unspecified places are also grounds for expulsion.

Following, there are Dormitory Regulations, Social Rules, etc. Those in authority mean them, too, for many cases of expulsion for infractions are reported. One student gives as his Worst Thing:

> A group of students were expelled from school for breaking the drinking rule. It was the best thing to do for them, to help them grow-up, but I missed some of these people. I did not condone their actions, and they received punishment due, but I still felt very sad to see them go.

It is noticeable that many Ipswich respondents are outwardly in agreement with the disciplinary practices instituted by the school authorities and that this probably goes a long way towards explaining the very low score on the R Index obtained at Ipswich. However, the ambiguity, the cunning, the butting against the stone wall, all suggest that another position obtains, covertly held, it is true, but also there. The most comprehensive statement of this position, and of the forces implied in it, is to be found in an extended, informal discussion on Ipswich conducted by the project interviewer with several students. One begins:

> ...this is our rebellion... Smoking, drinking, sex at Ipswich, even sex, is a rebelling against the rules. It's a horrible feeling to sit down and think, well, I'm doing this 'cause I'm rebelling against Ipswich, and then, you think, my father is spending money to send me here, my father is giving me love, sending me here? My father, my parents, are giving me a lot, and giving up a lot to send me to this school, and I'm rebelling. Why?
>
> (Second Student) And they think it's the greatest thing on earth, this place.
>
> (First) And they think they're doing me a big favor, and it, they are doing me a big favor..... but it's, it's hell. And then, you can't question it...
>
> (Second) You couldn't tell them that you would rather go to a public school.
>
> (First) Well, that's just it. I wouldn't rather go to a public school, the academics are fine, there's nothing wrong with the academics.
>
> (Second) The academics are wonderful, really... And the kids you're with, the attitude of the kids, their intelligence is nice, it's great. It's much better than you'd find in the public school.
>
> (First) But the attitude of the people. In a public school it didn't matter if your teacher was an absolute louse, in your estimation. You saw him for 45 minutes a day, you shook his hand, you said goodbye, and that was it... But these teachers, you got to live with, every day, all day.

Later, another student says:

> The faculty have radicals... against the students. Whereby you have the feeling that someone is just out to get you, and you personally. And they all

> seem to be zeroing, zeroing in on you. You will have a day where you're hit for everything. From the school dress to where you're just off campus drinking or something. Now this goes both ways... And we strike back equally as hard as we're struck. Is this the atmosphere for study?

This is their rebellion. Against what? Against, it would seem, a system that operates on a different wave length. There is a real feeling of being left out, and at the same time, of respect for the sacrifices their parents are making, their fellow students, and their classroom experiences.

At Ipswich the press becomes strident when it tries to replace the parent. Under the guise of establishing necessary rules for group living it introduces prohibitions designed to satisfy the parents'--or, at least, what the administration assumes the parent's desires to be. In what seems an effort to please the absent parent who pays the bill, the school harasses the present students, and under the guise of establishing standards threatens them with expulsion. Some students co-operate, accepting the system and accomodating their judgements to the current ideology. Others, however, are not readily intimidated, and rebel. For them the press becomes a challenge, for the others, a set of principles. All are, as was said by the student at the beginning, influenced quite a bit by their Ipswich environment. The result is ambiguity, and often, a profound ambiguity:

> I lost faith in God and Man - I was no longer a boy which although the best thing was also the worst.

J. ST. ELMO

> I believe the school has a lot to offer in all fields for those who want it.
>
> --A St. Elmo Student

Only those young men "who by their native ability and by their previous academic and personal achievement give promise of future leadership,"[12] are accepted at St. Elmo's - an independent day school for boys. Obdurate by principle, St. Elmo is proud of its ancient academic tradition and firm with its students. Once admitted, St. Elmoites must accept attendance at this elite, Roman Catholic sponsored, preparatory school as a privilege. Authority is vested in the institution, an institution founded on certain, clearly understood principles, and the students attending are expected to respect this authority and guide their lives accordingly. Of discipline, St. Elmo's catalogue has this to say:

> The registration of a student is an indication on his part and on the part of his parents or guardians, of his readiness to comply with all the regulations of the school. The discipline, while considerate, must be firm, in order that it may aid in the formation of character. Wanton neglect of school work, disobedience, insubordination, or any conduct which in the opinion of the Faculty is detrimental to the reputation of the school or the good of the student body, will be considered grounds for dismissal...

At St. Elmo the rules are clear; their intent is known. Their object is to produce both gentlemen:

> Towards the middle of Junior year I was chosen to represent St. Elmo at the University Symposium along with a classmate. To attend this I was given two days off from school. When I returned I didn't thank my headmaster for the time off and was reprimanded by him for this.

and scholars:

> The best thing happened twice. First in January and then in June. I am talking about the Bulletin Board on which the failures to the final exam are posted. I can remember going to the board each day during test week to see if I failed anything. To my great pleasure I passed everything both times. My only wish now is for it to continue until I graduate.

who are as sound in body as in mind:

> My best thing was playing basketball for the team last year. We didn't have a good record but we tried and played with all our hearts to acquire the prestige

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[12] The St. Elmo catalogue

of a school fitting for the trophy we should have won.

At St. Elmo's, the school comes first. The parents, as well as the students, are expected to co-operate. Again, from the catalogue, this about home co-operation:

> The authorities in charge of St. Elmo are fully aware that all their efforts for the advancement of the students will fail, unless the parents or guardians of the pupils cooperate with the authorities in securing a compliance with the ideals and regulations of the school. They are urgently requested to insist that their sons devote at least three hours a day to assigned study and review at home. The work assigned each day is carefully calculated and will, as a rule, require this amount of time for preparation. Should a student seem to have less work to do at home, inquiry at the school will invariably reveal that he is neglecting the work assigned and his monthly marks will be found to be correspondingly low.

This rigorous academic press, as demanding on the parents as it is on their sons, is especially interesting in that St. Elmo parents are not what might be expected, superficially; academic in their orientation, professional people, or in high status executive positions. This is true for Ipswich but not for St. Elmo. In fact, in their occupations, St. Elmo parents are not unlike Milgrim and Caddo parents -- working people in mundane jobs, such as barber, policeman, teacher, dental technician, liquor store owner, or TV repairman.

The press at St. Elmo is generally clean cut and on the surface. It functions as a compound of school spirit and strict enforcement. For his Best Thing, one young man underscores the important role school spirit plays at Elmo:

> The most rewarding experience thus far was the moment in June when I received my Senior Ring. This signified the culmination of three years of hard work and the privilege to be able to go on and complete the fourth year. The Senior Ring is a constant reminder of the personal duties and the special privileges of a Senior.

In addition to this totemism, athletics also play a positive role in the development of school spirit. For one young man:

> The St. Matthias Game (St. Elmo's traditional rival) Last year was the most exciting game I've ever seen in my life. The whole school showed up and for the first time everybody felt as a whole. Every single person wanting the same thing so earnestly you could feel it.

Strict enforcement, the other side of the coin, is generally the business of the headmaster, and often, the Worst Thing at St. Elmo is occasioned by an official visit to him:

> The worst thing was the first time I was caught talking on the stairs after an exam. The headmaster caught me and I was given headmaster's jug.

Again:

> Probably the worst thing was my first visit with the headmaster of St. Elmo's. My presence there was not a curtesy call because I was practically ordered down to his office. I had to wait until he was ready to see me. Then I got what I had expected to get, practically murder.

And, from another:

> At the 1962 Thanksgiving Day game with St. Matthias I blew a horn when St. Matthias was playing their school song which was pretty disrespectful and the headmaster made me see my ways.

There are many similar incidents mentioned. From Chart I, in Appendix C, it is clear that St. Elmo is atypical in that students there report as many Worst Thing responses as they do Best Thing responses on the B-T-W-T test, and also, that St. Elmo reports the largest number of Worst Things of all. For the other schools the relationship between Worst Things and Best Things is inverse, for St. Elmo, it is direct - the more of one the more of the other.

While the most popular Worst Thing category at St. Elmo's is seeing the headmaster, he isn't the only personification of authority on campus. The teachers, too, can be rough:

> The worst thing that ever happened was one day when I was doodling a teacher punished me by taking the pen from me and scribbling all over both cheeks with it.

Also, there is another side to relationships between the headmaster and the students, which is commented on:

> The headmaster and student counselor recently had an open house in which we first played basketball and swam and then we relaxed with pizza and coke and then we sat around and talked about the school. We discussed our problems and how to solve them and we talked about our future. It was a great evening all around.

Pupils at St. Elmo learn to accept authority and, literally, to do as they are told. In his answer to the Best-Thing-Worst-Thing test one young man followed this pattern to its ultimate. He carefully obeyed the instructions "don't think about it too deeply... just put down the first thing that comes into your mind." His reply states:

> I can understand more fully about the females around me, how they think and act. I was able to go to dances to eventually meet all the girls that I so desire. In High School you have more fun in your teen years by associating with others from other places. Boatrides, football and basketball games and dances, monthly mixers. And meeting of new friends. If I didn't have to think about it too deeply I would write more of the best things that happened to me in high school.

In their responses to the Ressentiment Index, St. Elmo students score their school below average, at 61.2 as against 62.4 for the average of all schools. Considering that all the respondents there are male, and boys generally score higher than girls, a comparative score for boys alone is justified. Such an adjustment places St. Elmo somewhat further below average, closer to Delphi, without changing its relative position. It is still fourth from the bottom in rank out of nine schools. The St. Elmo teachers, for their part, rate their school higher on the Ressentiment scale than do the students, in fact, third highest, below Milgrim and Caddo, and directly above Martingale.

Like Ipswich and Martingale, St. Elmo generates many significant items, and, among these, a number which represent the extreme for all schools.* Of the latter the most interesting refer to teacher-student relationships. Both students and teachers at St. Elmo agree that: The students like a teacher to be wrapped up in his subject even though he may demand a great deal from them. Such a response seems clearly consistent with the established press. Less consistency is to be found on the response to two other items, for on them the students and teachers disagree. Only 20 percent of the students feel that: Many teachers take pride in the tremendous amount of homework they give; whereas four of the six teachers hold this to be true. St. Elmo is the only school in which less than 50 percent of the student respondents reported: Some teachers here make you feel like you don't know anything. Five of the six teachers disagreed with the general opinion and recorded this item as true. And finally, both students and teachers agree that at St. Elmo: If the faculty thinks a bright kid is showing off they can be pretty clever at putting him in his place. Clever or not, they often succeed, however:

> In class when talking to a teacher I sounded disrespectful and I didn't mean to be. I hurt him and was disappointed in myself. It was by far the worst thing until I apologized and now he treats me real nice still and it is forgotten.

At St. Elmo the student in the wrong is ashamed. It is in this mode especially that he differs from his fellows in other institutions. At Milgrim, as we remember, the student was angry. He also had his Record to worry about. At Hartsburgh guilty feelings predominated, and the students were concerned about their Reps and the effects a bad Rep would have on their future recommendations. The Caddo student was also angry, but he got over it in time, as again we remember, and eventually he and his teacher became the best of friends. All these are focused on the person, unlike at St. Elmo, where the person only considers himself in relation to the institution and in the way he may have failed it. This is what his shame consists in.

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*On the F-N Index St. Elmo scored significantly on 22 items. On twelve of these, the school recorded the lowest scores reported. Items #1, 16, 19, 30, 31, 36, 47, 55, 57, 59, 63, and 69. On ten, the highest scores, Items #11, 12, 20, 28, 40, 44, 54, 60, 64, and 66. Of these, only Items #47, 31, 69, and 40 are discussed in the text.

It is a common myth that toughness in education combined with a clear definition of authority, reproduces itself, that the youth so educated grows up strong and clearheaded. From this, it would seem, that students at a school such as St. Elmo, where a clear line of authority has been established, and where everyone knows where he stands, are forged in a hot crucible, but one which should define character precisely, and toughen it in the process. At St. Elmo, facts are facts, and are so taught. A conventional class is a lecture or a recitation period - there are answers and they can be learned. The student is given a clear line and forced to toe it. Consequently the spirited student, possibly an incipient rebel and certainly demanding, in testing the system can determine its limits and his power in relation to these... Do they? No, for quite the opposite is the ruling case at St. Elmo; the young men are more than willing to settle for their bowl of lentils than are students at any other school. In their responses to the Q-Sort they are impressively conventional and self-denying. For example, in Episode V - Miss Post's English Assignment, they not only stress that love is not "fantasy's hot fire" in making Sir Walter Scott's Lay of the Last Minstrel (Card #2) their first choice (and in this they are not unusual - respondents from most schools did) but in their comments they also stressed sacrifice along with love. One young man, when asked what evidence was necessary for love to exist, answered, "Denial of self in favor of someone else, I think." Another respondent was even more emphatic:

> ...if a man truly loves a woman, and he makes sacrifices of himself, hurts himself, for the woman, now that's going to deepen his love.

And:

> If you make a sacrifice of yourself, to uh, for someone else, and you're willing to make that sacrifice, it shows you love, you actually feel better after that.

A rare St. Elmoite rebel turned up in the Best-Thing-Worst-Thing test, and sounding something like an Ipswich student, he states:

> Nothing too good ever really happened to me. But I think I was most fortunate to get the 2nd and 3rd year English teachers I did. They really made the class reasonably enjoyable and meaningful. They are among the very few teachers here more interested in having students learn about literature, current events, almost anything, rather than just memorizing a lot of boring, meaningless garbage.

And, his Worst Thing is also instructive:

> Last year I wrote a political article for our school magazine which had asked for "contraversial" articles from students. As it developed, the Headmaster of the school - who reads and censors every word of the magazine before its printed - didn't agree with my opinions and severly and unjustly punished me.

Against this place the more common St. Elmo response:

> The worst thing happened in freshman year at St. Elmo. Then an unexperienced newcomer, me, joined a rifle club at St. Elmo. This was a new organization and I was happy to be a part of it. However in a few weeks I was summond to the headmaster along with a number of other boys, all members. We horrified, found out the club had no official recognition and therefore did not exist. It was a long spell of jug, 5 weeks before we redeemed ourselfs and once more were free from the headmaster.

It is that sense of justice about oneself that seems so absent at St. Elmo:

At St. Elmo's, the line is sharply drawn. A Principle is established and the students there are expected to live by it. The catalogue says:

> The leader must not only know, he must do. So, more important than his intellectual equipment is the forming within him of virtuous habits, the sum of which we label character. The future leader, in the day of his training, must submit to discipline in accordance with the principle; he is not fitted to command who has not first learned to obey. He must accustom himself to self-restraint, courageously face responsibility adapted to the state of his development, recognize by practice that there is no substitute for genius but hard work.

The young men who attend St. Elmo are training for leadership. In the course of this training they learn to obey and to accept the hard work assigned them graciously. In its press the school has established a clear line of authority, and from the evidence, it seems, the students there lend themselves to it. When it squeezes them they blame themselves, and let it go at that. Of the presses examined, St. Elmo's is the most consistent and most uniform. Since the St. Elmo parents are also expected to cooperate, and agree to such cooperation when they register their sons, there is little likelihood of the conflict between home and school that characterizes Milgrim. Instead, there is support for the school even in the home. This consistency, this one-sidedness, then makes the young St. Elmo student what he is, when he cooperates himself, and generally he does. What we found there was self-punitiveness, acceptance, and a massive sense of shame. We did not, however, find the creative rebellion that tradition suggests we could expect to find.

K. RESSENTIMENT IN THE SCHOOLS - CONCLUSIONS

Each of the nine schools has been described in terms of its unique institutional press, and we must now ask to what extent these presses are infected with Ressentiment. Generally, our hypotheses assert that the intensity of Ressentiment will vary from school to school and that such Ressentiment as there is will encourage conventional and anomic responses in the young people attending these schools, and thereby, as explained in Part I of the report, will effectively stultify them. Hence, the investigation of the school presses anent Ressentiment is of paramount importance in assessing the institutional presses and the alleged deleterious effects which attend them.

The F-N and the Stern Ressentiment Indexes are the primary means by which we sought to adduce evidence of Ressentiment in the schools. The remainder of the material engendered through the research protocol originally was intended to be supplementary. Combined, the two Ressentiment Indexes allow a maximum possible score of 135. Were such a score reported it would indicate that the subject so reporting had agreed with the prescribed key in his response to each and every one of the statements comprising the two Indexes. The minimum score possible is zero. The true mean score for all subjects from all schools was 62. 4 (for 880 respondents, the others did not complete the test), with the highest score recorded 99 and the lowest 30. Teachers from most of the schools rated their schools somewhat lower in terms of ascribed Ressentiment than did their students, at a mean of 56. 1, overall, with exceptions being Caddo and St. Elmo.

By schools, the mean score and standard deviation for each is as follows:[13]

Parma	63. 1 ± 9. 2	Martingale	69. 6 ± 8. 6	Havencrest	56. 9 ± 11. 3
Hartsburgh	63. 1 ±10.9	Caddo	63. 0 ± 9. 4	Ipswich	56. 2 ± 9. 3
Milgrim	69. 2 ± 9. 3	Delphi	58. 0 ± 9. 6	St. Elmo	61. 2 ± 9. 5

Clearly, the subject schools break into three relatively distinct groups, with Martingale and Milgrim at the top, Parma, Hartsburgh, Caddo, and St. Elmo in a group clustered around the average for all nine schools, and with Delphi, Havencrest, and Ipswich at the bottom. When tested with a standard T test for significance the groups hold up. The means recorded for Martingale and Milgrim do not differ significantly at the 1% level from each other but do from Parma and Hartsburgh, the next highest schools. These same stipulations hold for the group of four central schools - Parma, Hartsburgh, Caddo, and St. Elmo - and for the three bottom schools - Delphi, Havencrest, and Ipswich - although the difference in means between the boundary schools, St. Elmo - Delphi, is not entirely convincing. There, the difference is significant at the 2% level, but not at the 1% level.

Let us consider, then, what this finding denotes. We are struck immediately by the fact that there is a certain symmetry in the pattern developed. With two exceptions the public schools are ordered according to their appraised socio-economic position. In terms of rated Ressentiment they descend - Martingale - Milgrim - Hartsburgh - Parma - Caddo - Delphi - Havencrest - and in class-status terms they ascend - Martingale - Caddo - Milgrim - Hartsburgh - Havencrest - Parma - Delphi. Out of place are Caddo and Havencrest, which is not surprising; both have already been described as being more tolerant of adolescent lability than are their fellow schools. Of the independent schools, Ipswich apparently stands where it belongs, scoring lowest of all schools, and St. Elmo ranks a little higher than might have been expected. Again, this is not surprising. As we remember, many St. Elmo students rank no higher in social class than do those attending Caddo or Milgrim. This may explain the relatively high Ressentiment score there.

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[13] Complete data on the relative ranking by schools can be found in Table III, Appendix C.

If we accept this symmetrical ordering provisionally, as a reasonable description of the relative intensity of *Ressentiment*, school by school, then we have a finding, and one roughly consistent with the hypotheses introduced in Part I of the study (p. 5, above). There, seven hypotheses were listed, and of them, numbers (4) and (6) are germane here. These two refer to school to school variation in *Ressentiment* and to its implications for adolescent development on the part of the students. Neglecting the adolescent development factor for the moment, the two hypotheses could be restated together so as to read, "Rated *Ressentiment* will increase as we go from private schools to public high schools serving a comparatively stable, predominantly middle-class clientele, to a (maximum intensity) in schools serving highly heterogeneous clientele in transitional neighborhoods, whether urban or suburban." *Prima facie*, the results from the *Ressentiment* Indexes support this combined hypothesis. Martingale, the school of the pariah hamlet, stands at the zenith, and Ipswich, a private school, is at the nadir. Both Parma, which acknowledges a new-old problem and Milgrim, with its rampant class struggle, could be described as being transitional, and both stand relatively high, while Caddo, where people are poor but not so much in misery about their poverty as in ignorance of it, scores low, in keeping with the illusion of its social homogeneity. It is arguable, then, that the hypotheses as restated are correct, and that *Ressentiment* is distributed along dimensions defined by economic conditions and social cohesiveness.

Experience with the schools, together with an awareness of the exploratory nature of this study counsels caution, however, and suggests that we reserve judgement temporarily while we subject the data to closer scrutiny. The study utilizes in *Ressentiment* a complex theoretical proposition developed out of phenomonological observation and analysis rather than one developed within the main corpus of conventional social science. To the best of our knowledge, this is the first time *Ressentiment* has been subjected to systematic empirical examination. We are, therefore, conscious of the need to be extra careful, and aware that our own grasp of this quaggy proposition may be imperfect. For these reasons we insist on the necessity of subjecting the Index to a critical challenge, even though it may have generated findings consistent with the original hypotheses. This challenge is implicit in the various forms of task independence incorporated in the protocol of the study; in the evaluation procedure and in the dialogue developed between the investigators. We are cognizant of the fact that we can have been wrong in what we thought to be *Ressentiment* when we constructed the F-N Index and keyed the Stern, and confused about its actual mode of operation in a social situation.

Had we no doubts such a critical re-examination might justifiably be perfunctory. However, our experiences with the schools themselves, experiences which are reported in the school descriptions, have encouraged doubts about the objective findings. While such doubts as we have are frankly subjective we feel that care and the very phenomonological method on which the study is founded both demand that these doubts be respected. For one thing, the differences in averages, while harmonious to the extent of being reasonable and significant at critical junctures, do not strike us as being sufficiently dramatic so as to be convincing. Also, we are uncomfortable about the groupings, we do not know what they mean. And finally, after having become aware of the distinctly polymorphic structure of the press relationships in the schools through our visits and investigations, we find ourselves reluctant about representing the schools with a single mean. In a test like this it is not surprising to discover that Ipswich scores lower than Martingale, for Martingale has neither the cultural advantages nor the status of Ipswich. What is surprising, however, is that the effective leadership at Havencrest makes so little difference, or that the guidance staff at Milgrim, which impressed both Gold and Friedenberg highly, would seem to have had so little effect on the scores recorded.

In our descriptions of the schools we have made extensive use of the results of the Best-Thing-Worst-Thing test. These underscored the diversity of response and in addition, provided us with some key as to the feeling tone of the subjects, a feeling tone which, we have suggested, reflects the emotional climate characteristic of the school. This we thought to be important. On the other hand, except for our mention of the indifferent results obtained from the Non-Verbal Perception test and from class room visits in the introduction to Part II of this report, we have, up until now, neglected these techniques. They have been ignored so far because they did not differentiate among the schools convincingly, and, as we were looking for differences, we did not find the results helpful. Now, however, let us try another tack and reconsider these techniques and the implications of the similarity they engendered.

Professor Gold, reporting as the "independent evaluator", comments in his report that, "In spite of the reasonably diverse socio-economic and geographical backgrounds of the pupil populations at the various schools, all reflect what is essentially a kindred secondary school curriculum supported by a consanguinity of instructional methodology. Observations of classrooms in session revealed, for example, that the prime method of instruction at all schools consisted of lectures fused with teacher-directed question-and-answer periods. Only at Ipswich and Havencrest were opportunities for group discussion in evidence to any degree. In a similar vein most of the classes that were observed could be typified as "orderly" and essentially "text-book" centered. Here again, Havencrest, Ipswich, and to a lesser extent, Delphi, tempered their curriculum by attempting to individualize instruction in terms of student interests and needs. Thus, most of the classrooms observed were centered squarely on the teacher in charge. That is to say, they were conducted in a manner similar to that manifested by the leader of a symphony orchestra; with permission to participate in the assemblage bequeathed to specific individuals at specific times. Rarely were students given the chance to interact with each other regarding their personalized perceptions and interpretations of the subject matter under study. In some instances where classroom interaction was requested by the instructor, both students and teacher demonstrated, by their awkwardness and ineptness, that this was a special technique "put on" for the benefit of the observer. Comfortable interpersonal relationships were, however, occasionally observed at both Milgrim and Caddo, in addition to the previously cited Ipswich and Havencrest. At the other extreme, participation of an interactive nature was never observed at either Parma or St. Elmo.

"Similarly," Gold continues, "observed teacher control devices ranged from motivating interest in the dignity of the subject matter, most prevalent at Havencrest and Ipswich, to scolding and threatening students, most evident at Martingale and Caddo. The converse of the latter technique - praise and rewards - was again most in evidence at Martingale, and to a lesser extent at St. Elmo. Interest in classroom activities was also rated in each of the schools. It appeared to be highest at Delphi and St. Elmo and lowest at Milgrim, where more students gave the impression of being disinterested than being interested in their work."

In his discussion of the responses to the Non-Verbal Perception test, Gold reports, "Responses again are particularly revealing with reference to the uniformity of the various schools studied. Intended as an instrument that would enable students to reflect divergent as well as convergent thinking processes, it functioned only in terms of the latter. There were rarely any responses of a divergent nature, no matter what school was being studied. Although students embellished their designs with an occasional ash tray or bathroom, responses were overwhelmingly convergent. The test, however, did give students an opportunity to articulate certain impressions of their schools. For example, the boys at St. Elmo included more podia and platforms for the teachers, the students at Delphi and Havencrest drew more semi-formal seminar classroom structures, and Ipswich students depicted classrooms that were the most informal of all. At Caddo and Martingale, on the other hand, the classrooms were, as a totality, composed of neatly arranged rows of desks facing the chalkboard. And, as previously indicated in the descriptions, Milgrim students included more bathrooms in their classroom designs than those from any other school - reflecting the oppressive restrictions regarding physical movement there."

In sum, then, the evaluator testifies to the existence in the schools, taken together, of an omnipresent and inexorable compulsion which is shaping events, instituting a depressing sameness everywhere. He found school by school variation to be minor, albeit in accord with previously reported findings. When compared with what goes on in the classrooms of Ipswich education at Milgrim and Martingale continues, on the whole, to appear unpleasant. Nevertheless, the distinctions are not as strong as they might be, they are in variations of gray, not in the contradictions of black and white.

Standing over against this gray impression is the diversity in the responses generated by the Best-Thing-Worst-Thing test and reinforced by the results of the Ressentiment Index when these are examined item-by-item. Usually, Milgrim and Ipswich can be found at opposite ends of the school spectrum. Yet, we must not forget that it was students at Ipswich as well as at Milgrim who responded that they often felt like they were butting their heads against a stone wall, and that in this response both schools agree and agree more firmly than they do with the others. For contrast, however, there is a vigorous difference about Item #11 of the F-N R Index, which states: The best thing about courses in shop and home making is that they teach you how to enjoy working with your hands. Milgrim agrees, strongly, at 81 percent, and in concord with Parma, Delphi, and Martingale. Against this, only 32 percent of the Ipswich respondents agreed, and in this found agreement at St. Elmo. Comments from the Best-Thing-Worst-Thing suggest that Hartsburgh and St. Elmo students were given to self criticism, whereas Milgrim students were intransigent, and in this intransigence, were closer in spirit to Ipswich than to their neighbors among the high scorers. Yet Ipswich is also like Delphi, where the students express a pervasive sadness about their lot, an odd response, in that these two schools are the most affluent of the sample. All in all, then, our findings lead us into a maze, with a verdict that there is much that is similar about the schools, no matter what their social, economic, or even, ecclesiastical origins, and also, that there are substantial differences in the institutional presses established in each.

On its face this is not a very helpful finding. When we began the study we had hoped to show that there were convincing differences in the Ressentiment component of the institutional presses of the several schools and that these press differences would correlate well both with the organizational origins of the school and with the degree to which healthy adolescence was fostered in the school. It is now indicated that standing against the apparently orderly ranking of the schools in terms of rated Ressentiment is a wealth of complicating observation, and that such differences in Ressentiment as there are are not dramatic and clean, but rather, are subtle, and that we must be careful to keep this in mind in making comparative judgements.

The prima facie differences among the schools, while not dramatic, were, notwithstanding, scaled in an orderly way, and in a way roughly consistent with our original assumptions about the relationship between organizational origins and Ressentiment. The schools also clustered into statistical groups, separated by confidence limits, and thus initiated our second subjective query. To recapitulate, three groups were reported: at the top was the Martingale - Milgrim group, in the center, Parma - Hartsburgh - Caddo - St. Elmo, and scoring lowest on the R Index was the threesome, Delphi - Havencrest - Ipswich. They result when the means of the student scores within each group do not differ significantly, whereas those of the boundary schools for each group do. Thus, the difference in means between Martingale and Milgrim does not exceed the 1% level of significance, whereas the difference between Milgrim and Parma does. The question then is, are these groups substantive entities, or are they simply the product of statistical reduction? And further, if they have a substantive base, what do they tell us about the practice of Ressentiment in the schools?

Two correlation matrices, one for each of the Indexes, have been constructed for the purpose of investigating relationships among the several schools. Through these we may uncover the meaning of the groups of schools. These matrices are based on the item-by-item percentage scores, and for the F-N Index Matrix, Appendix A contains the data on which it is based. Table A-1 is the correlation matrix for all responses by item and by school for the F-N Ressentiment Index, and Table A-2, the correlation matrix for the Stern Ressentiment Index. In comparing the schools these matrices will be used extensively.

TABLE A-1

CORRELATION MATRIX FOR THE F-N RESSENTIMENT INDEX

Schools:			
	A. Parma	D. Martingale	G. Havencrest
	B. Hartsburgh	E. Caddo	H. Ipswich
	C. Milgrim	F. Delphi	I. St. Elmo

Schools	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
Parma	1	.90	.87	.73	.88	.92	.86	.76	.81
Hartsburgh	.90	1	.89	.77	.89	.86	.84	.76	.76
Milgrim	.87	.89	1	.80	.92	.87	.83	.65	.65
Martingale	.73	.77	.80	1	.80	.70	.67	.50	.62
Caddo	.88	.89	.92	.80	1	.88	.85	.73	.82
Delphi	.92	.86	.87	.70	.88	1	.85	.74	.82
Havencrest	.86	.84	.83	.67	.85	.85	1	.79	.77
Ipswich	.76	.76	.65	.50	.73	.74	.79	1	.76
St. Elmo	.81	.76	.65	.62	.82	.82	.77	.76	1

For this table responses to 75 items, comprising the F-N R Index, were tabulated-item-by-item for each school and then correlated by means of the product-moment method, school-by-school.

TABLE A-2

CORRELATION MATRIX FOR THE STERN RESSENTIMENT INDEX

Schools:			
	A. Parma	D. Martingale	G. Havencrest
	B. Hartsburgh	E. Caddo	H. Ipswich
	C. Milgrim	F. Delphi	I. St. Elmo

Schools	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
Parma	1	.87	.77	.72	.84	.89	.83	.67	.66
Hartsburgh	.87	1	.91	.85	.92	.85	.83	.67	.55
Milgrim	.77	.91	1	.85	.81	.75	.68	.57	.45
Martingale	.72	.85	.85	1	.83	.71	.67	.53	.28
Caddo	.84	.92	.81	.83	1	.81	.81	.61	.51
Delphi	.89	.85	.75	.71	.81	1	.91	.71	.67
Havencrest	.83	.83	.68	.67	.81	.91	1	.66	.66
Ipswich	.67	.67	.57	.53	.61	.71	.66	1	.67
St. Elmo	.66	.55	.45	.28	.51	.67	.66	.67	1

For this table responses to 60 items, comprising the Stern R Index, were tabulated item-by-item for each school and then correlated by means of the product-moment method, school-by-school.

As a preliminary, let us begin with the three schools that scored low on Ressentiment - Delphi, Havencrest, and Ipswich. We will remember from the school descriptions that certain features were common to both Delphi and Ipswich. At both, the parents are relatively affluent, and in their occupations, are generally either professional or executive. Also, the spirit is somber at both, at Delphi with its routinization, at Ipswich with its estrangement. On the other hand, none of these features are common to Havencrest. There, despite the fact that their parents are not nearly so affluent, the students are enthusiastic. Yet reference to the correlation matrices indicates that on both Indexes Delphi and Havencrest correlate together more closely than either school does with Ipswich. In fact, Delphi correlates less with Ipswich than with any other school except Martingale, and of all schools, correlates most closely with Parma.

A cursory examination of the central group of four schools, - Parma, Hartsburgh, Caddo, and St. Elmo - is likewise unproductive. While Parma and Hartsburgh impress us as approximate similitudes, Caddo and St. Elmo differ. When we draw on the responses to the Best-Thing-Worst-Thing, we find Parma and Hartsburgh somewhat like Delphi and even St. Elmo, but not like Caddo. The correlation matrices, on the other hand, favor acceptance of a relatively large group of like minded schools, including Havencrest as well as Caddo and Delphi, but excluding St. Elmo.

The highest scoring group contains only two schools - Martingale and Milgrim - and is more convincing. Earlier, in describing Martingale, we noted several cognate items on which Martingale and Milgrim together scored high or low and on which both were rated significant. These items referred to a vulgarization of the teaching process and a "fun morality" associated with it. Although not mentioned at the time, there was also a certain element of anti-intellectualism apparent in the responses. Among the items contributing to this affinity were #30, keyed true, which states, "About all that means anything to kids in this school is having a good time."; #9, also keyed true, which says, "What students here like about biology is that a lot of good off-colored jokes can be told in class without anyone being the wiser."; and #41, another keyed true, which states, in the anti-intellectual mode, "Students here know that poetry is supposed to be beautiful but deep down they also know that the biggest part of it is pure bunk." Martingale and Milgrim are not altogether alone in this spirit; remember the young man from Delphi and his biology beach party. They do, however, have this common core of sentiment that identifies them in their togetherness, and while their overall correlation is not especially high, it is built, it seems, of items that are interrelated. By comparison, efforts to find a similar core of affinity in terms of significant items for the twosomes, Parma - Delphi, Parma - Hartsburgh, and Milgrim - Caddo, all of which had intercorrelations of .90 or better on the F-N Index, proved fruitless. Consequently, it seems advisable that we keep an eye on Martingale and Milgrim as we enquire more deeply into the meaning of the two correlation matrices.

In constructing the F-N Index and in adapting the Stern Index, Ressentiment was taken to be a single variable manifesting itself through a great variety of actions and procedures. The sum of these practices and procedures, which combine together the efforts of teachers, administrators, fellow students, janitors, and such others as can make their effect felt, was to be understood as the Ressentiment component of the institutional press. It was anticipated that some actions might contribute little and others, a great deal to this sum. The meaning was assumed to be lodged in the product of the many minor actions and procedures and not in the separate items, themselves. Taken together the items were expected to constitute something akin to a general pressure, and this general pressure, in its abstracted form, was understood to be Ressentiment, as institutionalized.[14] Thus the items were written and keyed with the definition for institutionalized Ressentiment in mind, that being that, "Institutional arrangements will be regarded as ressentient to the degree that they are designed to facilitate external control of impulsive behavior in individuals at the expense of disciplined self-expression, and to minimize opportunities for the demonstration of specific personal excellence."

The results presented in Tables A-1 and A-2 demonstrate a high degree of correlation among many of the schools. We would like to know, now, however, to what extent this represents a common agreement. For this purpose the two correlation matrices were factor analysed for the project by the Brooklyn College Office of Testing and Research. Ideally, if our original assumptions were correct, this factor analysis should generate a single factor which, we would then presume, would be Ressentiment.

To test for the maximum possible variation that could be subsumed in each of a series of several factors a Principle Axis matrix was calculated for the two Indexes. Following this the data were rotated by means of a Varimax Rotation to obtain a simple structure in which to express the findings. This was done in order to determine the relative contribution of each school in each of the factors generated. The results from both tests are reported in Tables A-3 and A-4, below. Factor loadings for the Principle Axis matrix are reported in the columns headed I, II, and III. It is from these loadings that the communality enclosed by the factors is computed. Factor loadings for the Varimax Rotation are reported in the columns headed I', II', and III'. For these loadings when all elements (here schools) in a column have the same sign (+ or -) this indicates that all elements participate to some degree in the factor uncovered. Different signs in the same column would indicate certain elements positive in relation to the factor and certain elements negative. Loadings can range between +1 and -1, with +1 indicating absolute agreement and -1 absolute disagreement. In Tables A-3 and A-4 only three factors are presented. The actual computations were carried out to nine factors for each matrix. Only three are posted, however, because in each case these three enclose more than 90 percent of the variation.

For both Indexes the tables substantiate the proposition that a single factor accounts for a very large percentage of the intercorrelation, with the dependence on a single factor greatest for the F-N Index. In addition, very large loadings on the second and third factor for Ipswich and St. Elmo in both cases suggest that these residual factors may represent differences associated with the special characteristics of independent schools. Furthermore, loadings on the second factor of the F-N Index are negative for all schools, and, in fact, are almost the mirror image of the first factor. Thus, they reinforce the importance of the first factor for this Index as being the major contributor to communality. Consequently, we have for each Index our strong, single factor. Is it Ressentiment?

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[14] This summed set of actions is, of course, not observed directly but instead, imperfectly, through the eyes of the student and teacher respondents. Consequently, to the degree that the respondent's experience is limited in that he wasn't in the right place at the right time, or distorted by an especially strong dose of Ressentiment, his report would be inaccurate. Other sources of inaccuracy would include a refusal to recognize Ressentiment even when observed, or its obverse, imaginings about its presence. Together, these contribute experimental error to our findings. We have already identified certain of the dimensions of this error. Boys, for instance, aremore likely to report alleged ressentient practices than are girls. Teachers score low, on the whole, as do the academically successful students and those who have advanced to the higher grades. We even have evidence, through the response to the Activities Index, suggesting that students who have a preference for Ressentiment in their daily lives do not see it in their school. All these must contribute to the variance.

TABLE A-3

FACTOR ANALYSIS OF THE F-N INDEX ITEM CORRELATIONS

Schools	Principle Axis Matrix Loadings			Varimax Rotation Loadings		
	I	II	III	I'	II'	III'
Parma	.95	-.02	-.04	.44	-.36	.40
Hartsburgh	.95	.06	-.09	.47	-.39	.32
Milgrim	.92	.26	-.21	.73	-.26	.21
Martingale	.81	.47	.23	.30	-.15	.25
Caddo	.96	.10	.04	.60	-.32	.45
Delhi	.94	-.04	-.02	.48	-.33	.44
Havencrest	.92	-.11	-.15	.38	-.42	.33
Ipswich	.82	-.46	-.10	.23	-.85	.32
St. Elmo	.86	-.29	.40	.21	-.38	.81

Factor I subsumes 81.86 percent of the communality.
Factor II subsumes 6.8 percent of the communality.
Factor III subsumes 3.54 percent of the communality.
Together the three factors enclose 92 percent of the communality.

TABLE A-4

FACTOR ANALYSIS OF THE STERN R INDEX ITEM CORRELATIONS

Schools	Principle Axis Matrix Loadings			Varimax Rotation Loadings		
	I	II	III	I'	II'	III'
Parma	.93	.05	-.15	.51	.35	.25
Hartsburgh	.96	-.19	.02	.74	.23	.27
Milgrim	.87	-.32	.15	.87	.18	.20
Martingale	.84	-.40	.14	.89	.12	.18
Caddo	.92	-.21	-.07	.67	.20	.21
Delphi	.94	.11	-.17	.48	.33	.31
Havencrest	.90	.13	-.28	.40	.33	.25
Ipswich	.77	.38	.46	.29	.33	.85
St. Elmo	.69	.62	-.02	.16	.90	.28

Factor I subsumes 76.17 percent of the communality.
Factor II subsumes 10.12 percent of the communality.
Factor III subsumes 4.26 percent of the communality.
Together the three factors enclose 91 percent of the communality.

2

The two Indexes correspond well, on the whole, on their relative loadings for the first factor (Column I'). An exception is Martingale, and this is an important one, for Martingale is the highest scoring school for both Indexes. Martingale, for its part, registers a factor loading of . 30 on the F-N Index and of . 87 on the Stern Index. Interesting also is the discovery that the unique affinity between Martingale and Milgrim which we had previously discussed does not seem to have affected the factor loadings for the F-N Index but, by all indications, is present, emphatically, in the loadings for the Stern Index. This suggests that we might examine the Stern Index more closely with this affinity in mind.

The alleged affinity between Martingale and Milgrim was based on fourteen items from the F-N Index on which both schools scored significently and in concert - high for thirteen items and low for one. On examination, we discovered that there were, in addition, seventeen such items on the Stern Index, too. This supports the notion that whatever it is that creates the affinity, it is more intensely expressed through the Stern Index than through the F-N Index.[15] Together, there are 31 such items, out of a total for both tests of 135, or slightly less than 25 percent of the entire Ressentiment Index. These items (hereafter, the M-M Items, after Martingale-Milgrim) constitute 19 percent of the F-N Index and 32 percent of the Stern R Index. Those from the F-N Index have already been discussed in some detail in Section E to Part II of the report and earlier in this section, also, where they are characterized as evincing vulgarity in the educational processes and anti-intellectualism, laced with a bit of fun for all.

These same elements occur again in the M-M Items from the Stern Index, but added there, is a special note of bitterness and estrangement. Paraphrasing several, we find the students describing the teaching in their schools as indifferent when not either silly or actively hostile, punishments that are arbitrary, and a school that is engaged in infantilizing its students. Altogether, a thoroughly disagreeable picture is painted, but one a bit harsher and less insidious than we might have expected from Ressentiment. And it is not. Instead, it is a reflection of a process which may eventually be Ressentiment creating in the young people themselves but consists, essentially, of a defensive pose on their part, not of a carefully concealed vengeful act designed to right a felt wrong. Item #3 is a good example of this protective reflex. "When they don't know the answers and you do, the other students here expect you to help them, such as, when taking a test, by giving them a chance to see your paper." A minor key class struggle - the young people know they are in enemy territory and take appropriate defensive measures. To be Ressentiment, this item would have to be based on a cynicism about the educational process. And, to be frank, there is possibly a little bit of that, too. But generally, we maintain, the M-M Items are expressions of a protective reflex employed by individuals who find themselves alienated and alone in the face of instituted pressures which they recognize as hostile towards themselves.

We next separated the M-M Items out from the Index as a whole, in order to ascertain its effect on the total scores. For the F-N Index there were 14 M-M Items and 61 others. Calculating the mean score for these items we found that Martingale students scored 56. 9 percent on the M-M Items and 49. 8 percent on the others. Milgrim scored 51. 4 percent on the M-M Items and 50. 5 percent on the others. Hence, the M-M Items contribute materially to the high scores on Ressentiment obtained by the two schools; impressively so in the case of Martingale and just marginally so in the case of Milgrim. As might be expected, there is greater agreement on the Stern Index. There, Martingale scored 55. 9 percent on the 17 M-M Items, and 51. 1 percent on the remaining 43. Milgrim scored 56. 2 percent on the M-M Items and 49. 3 percent on the others.

Summed over the two Indexes, Martingale scored M-M Items 56. 4 percent according to the Ressentiment key, as against 50. 4 percent for the remaining 104 items. Milgrim scored 54. 1 percent as against 50. 0 percent on the other items. Thus, in both cases, the respondents scored measurably higher on the M-M Items, with this most emphatic on the Stern Index. This response takes on real importance, however, only after we have compared the results from Milgrim and Martingale with those of the other seven schools. This is done in Table A-5.

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[15] For the Stern Index the Items are: 91, 93, 107, 111, 113, 114, 121, 133, 135, 145, 150, 154, 157, 158, 165, 171, 180. The special Ressentiment key for these items can be found in Appendix A. Milgrim and Martingale both scored significantly high on all of these items with the exception of #135, on which they were both significantly low.

TABLE A-5

COMPARISON OF RESPONSES ON THE 31 MARTINGALE-MILGRIM ITEMS WITH RESPONSES FOR ALL OTHER ITEMS.

School	A: 31 M-M Items %	B: 104 Other Items %	C: 135 All Items %	D: C(135) Computed Score	E: B(135) Computed As If Score
Martingale	56. 4	50. 4	51. 7	69. 8	68. 0
Milgrim	54. 1	50. 0	50. 9	68. 8	67. 5
Parma	35. 4	50. 3	46. 9	63. 3	67. 9
Hartsburgh	41. 3	48. 2	46. 6	62. 9	65. 1
Caddo	42. 7	47. 7	46. 6	62. 9	64. 4
Delphi	32. 6	46. 1	43. 0	58. 1	62. 2
Havencrest	31. 7	45. 6	42. 5	57. 3	61. 6
Ipswich	27. 1	46. 1	41. 7	56. 3	62. 2
St. Elmo	30. 8	49. 8	45. 4	61. 3	67. 2

The computed score (Column D) is calculated from the item-by-item analysis rather than from the student scores, as was the case in Table III in Appendix C and in the scores reported at the beginning of Section K, Part II. As the item-by-item analysis includes all responses, whether the respondent completed the Index or not, there are slight variations between the computed scores for Table A-5 and those posted on Table III in the Appendix. These variations do not effect the analysis. The computed "as if" score takes the percentages posted in column B, which are computed for 104 Items, and computes a hypothetical score, as if there had been 135 of these items.

Look at Columns D and E of Table A-5. Column D provides us with scores similar to those for the person-by-person tabulation introduced at the beginning of this Section. Again, we find Martingale and Milgrim heading the list, with Ipswich at the nadir, and the spread approximating that for the previous returns. Column E, for its part, is a distribution of hypothetical scores. Computed from Column B, which tallies the item-by-item percentage scores with the 31 M-M Items excised, these scores reduce the spread over which the schools range considerably; it is now 6. 4 points instead of 13. 5. Furthermore, certain of the schools have acquired different rank positions. Parma has replaced Milgrim in second place and St. Elmo has risen to fourth.

If we now compare Column A, representing the contribution of the M-M Items, with the loadings for the first Varimax Rotation factor of the Stern Index (Column I' of Table A-4), we discover considerable agreement. This, thereby, leads us to conclude that the first factor of the Stern Index is a compound, obtaining agreement from the general response to the 43 other items, and, superimposed on this base, a relative measure of variance obtained from the M-M Items. In other words, for the Stern Index, such first factor relative variance as there is, is largely a product of the M-M Items. More importantly, though, the schools agree roughly as to the way in which subjects responded for a very large number of items. This, we maintain, is the substantive base for the strong first factor generated by the Principle Axis rotation and represents the abstracted ressentient response.

This would mean that such relative variation as there is results from a recognition of the existence of hostile authority, and, in response, efforts to make the experience with this authority tolerable, even though this might interfere with educational objectives. These efforts would then be expressed in terms of perceived differences about actions reflecting vulgarity in the educational process, anti-intellectualism, and, somewhat desperately, having fun. This judgement fits well with our earlier observations re Milgrim and Martingale, and has significance even for Caddo, where we postulated that the social climate, while not actually estranging at present, could readily be so. Havencrest has been described as being relatively devoid of arbitrary authority in practice, and even at Delphi, despite the stress on control, domination is not an important factor. At St. Elmo and Ipswich, however, the situation is more complex. There the students feel some obligation to accept the situation, since their parents are paying handsomely for the privilege of attendance at the school. Crudely, what is suggested is that high scores on the M-M Items indicate a clear awareness of being in an alien camp and of recognizing that it must be lived with. Low scores, for their part, would indicate less certainty about the matter. There is also a clear class-status pattern observable in the distribution of the variance following from these items as the rank order - Martingale, Milgrim, Caddo, Hartsburgh, Parma, Delphi, Havencrest, St. Elmo, and Ipswich - again approximates socio-economic class structure.

In Appendix D to this report the reader will find collected a representative sample of responses to the Best-Thing-Worst-Thing test from each school and from the teachers. These responses show that personal embarrassment and academic failure are among the most important Worst Things that have happened in all schools. Both represent a self-other relationship, are subject oriented, and reflect a competitive ethos. Coupled with these as the most important Best Thing is peer group association. When we examine the M-M Items then in relation to these B-T-W-T responses we find implied the suggestion that the M-M Item response reveals a vital defensive effort on the part of the students. They choose their sides, and their side is with their peers. That this defensive effort often denigrates the process of education itself is unfortunate. Its purpose is not originally malicious but instead, through peer unity, to maintain a semblance of self respect. As a result the peer group of students establishes itself as estranged from the peer group of teachers. And often, in consequence, the teachers reciprocate and develop their own control technique. Thus, the two groups grow down together. Or, as one young lady on whom our instruments were pre-tested, observed in discussing how often certain fellow students make classwork difficult, "The new teachers can teach you something but can't control the class, the old teachers can control the class."

What is suggested, then, is that at each school a defense effort centered in peer relations among the young people is constituted. In the more hostile situations, especially where there are sharp distinctions based on family origins, this defensive effort can harden to the point where it is readily identified. This, we maintain, is the case at Milgrim. However, this defensive pose is also present to some degree in all schools and is reflected in the different loadings of those schools. In Ipswich it is relatively localized in the boarding experience, and at Caddo it appears more as fun than as fright. Hartsburgh provides us with an especially interesting example, and suggests how the authority inspiring this protective reflex differs from true ressentient practice. There, as we remember, an excellent system has been instituted, utilizing the students in the task of controlling their fellows. This system depended on the student's self control and desire to be accepted and encouraged their self-abasement. It was firmly based on Ressentiment. However, and for entirely specious reasons, a disciplinary principal had been invented and superimposed on the established system. This was to give him an opportunity to learn the ramifications of authority and thereby to earn a promotion. Commissioned, he commandeered much of the authority previously administered through the students, and in consequence of his executive efficiency, increased the capture rate impressively. Or so it was reported to us. In time, given a continued energetic intervention by the disciplinary principal, this should lead to a substantial increase in the hostility quotient. And as the opposing camps harden in their opposition, the protective reflex characterized by the M-M Items should make itself more apparent. To our mind the hostility attendant on this struggle is not specifically ressentient; it is too direct. Nevertheless, it can make for Ressentiment on the part of those who are unable to respond to its power in any other way than insincerely. Thus, it is corrupting.

Turning to the factor analysis for the F-N Index we find the situation there somewhat recondite. It does not fall into any neat pattern. While the M-M Items help immensely to make sense of the Stern Index first factor variance, the same cannot be said of the F-N Index. If anything, thanks to the discrepency between the Varimax Rotation loadings for Milgrim (.73 in Column I', Table A-3) and Martingale (.30), they add to the uncertainty. On the F-N Index Martingale registers one of the lowest loadings, one not much above Ipswich and St. Elmo, while Milgrim's is the highest recorded on the first factor. Knowing no specific rational under which to subsume the Varimax Rotation loadings for the F-N Index and having lost Martingale in this manner, we will make no judgements about the source of the relative variation. It is surprising, though, that the M-M Items which are readily noticable on consulting the rough data, have so little impact for the F-N loadings.

However, in the case of the F-N Index the first factor encloses a very large portion of the total variation, and with the second factor negative, this indicates that the factor itself and not its relative variation is of central importance. This observation is reinforced by the Delphi results. Delphi's score on the F-N Index is the lowest for all schools, even below Ipswich and Havencrest (See Appendix C, Table III), yet its loading on this factor is fairly high. This suggests that the Delphi score for Ressentiment, while low in an absolute sense for this Index, is fairly representative of that for the other schools. The mavericks are Martingale, the highest scoring school, and again, the two independent schools, both of which show up on the other factors reported. And even these three have positive loadings on the Varimax Rotation.

The results from the correlation matrices and the factor analyses associated with them, therefore, lead us again to a verdict similar to that which we had arrived at earlier: that there is a large measure of agreement among the several schools. High correlations were registered in most cases, and on being factor analysed, these correlations denoted the overwhelming presence of a single factor. As no other alternative suggests itself it seems reasonable to argue that this factor represents the abstracted Ressentiment of which we spoke earlier.

In addition, a certain amount of residual variation was identified, the most important being that generated by the M-M Items. While we argued that this variation attendant on the M-M Items was not truly ressentient it is certainly closely related. Other variation registered was essentially banal; true, Martingale generally scored higher than most schools and Ipswich lower, but not impressively so, considering the enormous difference in their organizational origins. This is what we mean by this variation being banal. More significantly, however, Milgrim was consistently high, no matter how the data were presented, and Havencrest, consistently low. Otherwise, the relative positions of the various schools shifted about, depending on the particular results analysed, and left us with no firm conclusion.

What can we say anent Ressentiment in the schools? A credible statement would be that evidence of a considerable number of actions which are essentially ressentient was uncovered, but that certain processes associated with the institutional presses themselves complicate the results to such an extent that they defy organization into a consistent pattern. For this reason assurance about systematic differences in the abstract Ressentiment component of the press is frustrated. Ressentiment was everywhere present, even at Havencrest and Ipswich, but it pursued a subtle existence. It was not readily disentangled from the processes that are.

A subtle structure, not a simple structure; that is what has been indicated. Earlier we said of school, "It pressures individuals participating in its system, through its administrative dicta, through the practice of its teachers and the activities of its students, through its rewards and punishments and the feelings they evoke, in all through the totality of roles it demands or denies, accepts or rejects, validates or ignores, whether they are recognized as being official or not." Even so, we had in mind an integrated system, developing its press in an orderly manner, and with a modest vagueness at the edges. As a result we very much underestimated the extent to which the institutional structure of the school was not simple. We had presumed the existence of an acknowledged Establishment, taking a firm hand at establishing. Except at Havencrest and St. Elmo, we did not find one. Instead, what we found was always more complex than what we had expected.

Our difficulties with the contrary nature of the schools began with Parma. There, we discovered that everything had two sides. This led us into an argument among ourselves as to whether we should use the word ambivalence or the word incongruous to characterize the school. At the time, and with some misgivings, we settled for the word ambivalence, for we still conceived of the school as being controlled by a self-consistent Establishment prescribing practices and procedures. Instead, we found confusion of objective and an odd two-sidedness to everything associated with the Parma Way. We attributed this, provisionally, to a new-old problem unique to Parma and assumed the administration there had had some difficulty in coping with the changing community it was serving, and, terming the difficulty ambivalence, left it at that.

At Hartsburgh, which turned out to be as new and as old as Parma, the Establishment was apparently sounder, but, as the disciplinary principal incident suggests, probably unstable. Confusion in different forms showed up there, however, and left us with further doubts. So we went to Milgrim. There, a real battle was in progress, with the standards established by the school in direct conflict with those the young people brought from their homes. The lines were being drawn and the positions were hardening. As a result of our observations at Milgrim we returned to the term incongruity to use in typifying the situation - there was a lack of harmony or agreement - for it seemed clear now that school Establishments, however constituted, did not have a firm grip on the controls. Thus, we came to accept incongruity as a matter of course in the schools. At Caddo the students were pleased, the faculty often was not. At Ipswich, with the young people, raging against the dormitory life, the fur was flying thick and fast. And at Delphi contradictoriness had been made into a way of life, and mediation a *modus operandi*. Only St. Elmo had established a simple line of authority to which everyone adhered. And even there we had our doubts.

Every school studied had its incongruities, every school was a compound of forces that had become reified into social entities. Parties contended - the administration, the teachers, the principal, the students, the public authorities, and the parents - and the school, it seemed, was a vortex of disagreement. It was out of such a complex of social forces that the actual school was constituted. The school is more the construct of these forces than it is the product of the educational philosophy of its established authority. There is no simple structure press, *per se*, there is instead a dialectic of contradictory forces which the Establishment, such as it is, and for better or for worse, attempts to manage with a minimum of "trouble". This is what we mean when we say that the schools we have observed are a polymorphous structure.

The original error lay in attributing power too exclusively to those elements of the polymorphic structure that possess formal authority. In most schools those with such formal authority - the putative Establishment - most likely would appreciate being able to exercise authority decisively, as is the case with St. Elmo. However, our information suggests that it is exceedingly difficult to maintain a cogent position when so many loci of power exist. Instead, the constituted Establishments settled for what they could do and let it go at that. At its most effective, we have the Delphi system of mediation, where the emphasis is placed on tension reduction; at its most controlling, the Hartsburgh cooperative venture in citizmanship.

To an extent all the participants collaborate in complicating the structure. Generally the students are in the weakest position of all. Nevertheless, even in this weakness, some force can be generated. At both Milgrim and Ipswich the students were often toughminded and intransigent, and at Martingale, surprisingly shrewd in the way they worked with their predicament. As the research developed it also became clear to us how important parents were, and that it was often their support at Parma and Ipswich that made possible what independence of spirit there was. Judging from this one would expect that the situation *vis-a-vis* independence of spirit would be especially difficult for the young men of St. Elmo, for there the parents also were expected to cooperate.

Although not always by their own choice parents, may also play an entirely different role. To some degree the schools all conceive of themselves as surrogates of the parents and defenders of the community morality. In pursuance of this vision the administrators imagine what the parents and the community would approve of and act accordingly. Whether this image, whatever it might be, reflects the actual position of the parents is rarely examined. Chances are that for many communities it doesn't need to be - the parents of the children who favor Card #2 on the *Alan Slade and His Friends* Episode are not likely to think much differently themselves. In any case, however, a certain amount of psychic violence is committed in the name of this image of propriety every day school is in session, and correct or not, it becomes in its own way a contributing element in the developing institution.

The parent role, albeit complex in itself, is only one illustration of the complications about loci; teachers also support, neglect, or acquiesce in the face of the pressures generated. And, as the example of Havencrest indicates, the principal has his role, too. In each school a set of contending forces, exhibiting different forms with energies at different angles, express themselves in combination as a unique situation. Each of the public schools is the product of a state law, an instituted public authority, a community of taxpayers, a particular administration, teachers, parents, and students, all individually, collectively, and severally. The indipendent schools have like origins. The school itself is realized as a dialectical synthesis, elaborated not so much as the conscious invention of a single master established against a single set of servants, as it is of a variety of masters, real in their power and imagined, and a variety of servants who are also masters. Intricate, awkard in terms of its object, flawed, perverse, and uncomprehending, the structure emerges out of this contention as the participating master-servants, servant-masters recognize through their acts and their reflecting on these acts the dimensions of their predicament and, in terms of their vision and their concern, act again.

Thus, the institutional press is far more complex than had been anticipated. How is *Ressentiment* infused into it? The answer to that question originates in the complexity itself, and when answered reveals the source of the difficulty with the Index.

Ressentiment is not to be found in the established principles and practices. There is some of it there, of course, the rules from Parma and Milgrim show that, but standard procedures are not its primary locus. Instead, as we pointed out earlier, towards the end of the Caddo description, *Ressentiment* exists primarily in the context of an action or of a series of actions, and only incidentally in the procedural form. The *Ressentiment* is introduced into the action by the *ressentient* person - the vengeful, impotent person - who seizes opportunities as they present themselves. The forms the action takes are important mainly as opportunities for the expression of *Ressentiment*. It is a contamination of these forms, inserted furtively by its vindictive carrier. Thus, *Ressentiment* is founded as much on the complexity and necessary alienation of an instituted system as it is on the piety of the system's intention. The schools, as described, provide through their very complexity a surfeit of opportunities. The many rules, those of the rules that conflict, the dependence on mediating techniques, the alienated object of life, and the stress on competitive achievement all afford such opportunities. But the *Ressentiment* itself, the furtive act of rancor, must always be by a person, one drenched in impotence and skillful in his hostile use of prevailing values.

Through this formulation, then, it becomes very clear why it is so difficult to measure *Ressentiment* convincingly. Each incident on each day can have its charge of *Ressentiment*, or it can be absent, no matter how disagreeable the moment. Normally, an institutional press, while apodictically alienated, is not *ressentient* in itself. The *Ressentiment* comes from the men engaged in implementing the instituted way of life. We do feel, however, that some presses provide more or less fertile fields for the breeding of *Ressentiment*. From our experience we would say that among these would be those which stress competition and mobility, and thus produce many losers; those which operate arbitrarily and capriciously, and thereby allow the responsible individual many chances to express a secret hostility; those which use manipulative and tension reducing techniques, and thereby subordinate the person in his individuality to the institutional advantage; and those which make a virtue of self-denial, for these are *ressentient* by definition. However, *Ressentiment* is not all powerful and can have its sway restricted even when circumstances are most favorable, should a counterforce interpose itself, such as at Milgrim where the stark contrast in values allows for independence of spirit. So there is never a simple answer.

This leads us to an understanding of what it is that is unsatisfactory about the Indexes used to identify *Ressentiment*. To those who worked on the project the spirit at Caddo was especially appealing, and the feeling of oppression and suffocation was at a minimum. Yet, when the results were in, Caddo had scored quite high on the Index. At Delphi, as has been noted earlier, the spirit was often somber, despite the many advantages enjoyed by the young people attending there. Also, a certain professional competence with manipulative control technique was observed. Nevertheless, Delphi scored relatively low, and on the F-N Index, lowest of all. Hence, we have a conflict between subjective impressions and objective observations. This poses a fundamental question about the validity of the instrument. From the responses, when examined item-by-item, we knew that a rich store of information about *Ressentiment* and *ressentient* related activities had been collected. Through comparing these responses with other relavent data and measuring them against our own subjective intuitions we found that they stood up to the test of relevance and importance. Yet, when summed together as a totality, the Index responses impressed us as being inaccurate, not grossly so, but sufficiently so as to be deceiving. In effect, the parts did not make a convincing whole through summation.

On reconsideration it was apparent that the Indexes in sum are essentially research by broadside; an effort to subdue the concept by overpowering it. Can such an instrument work? In this case the answer must be, No. On demanding responses to many particulars of action it was assumed that they would produce a generality which when abstracted out would be readily identifiable as *Ressentiment*. However, as we have already indicated the phenomenon exists primarily in the context of integrated action situations, not in the run of the mill particulars of many actions. Thus, when the pieces are gathered together abstracted *Ressentiment* remains a collection of entities. In itself, *Ressentiment* is a matter of choosing and of choices related to specific situations. It is not a state, readily abstracted. In the Indexes we asked about many particular incidents, most of which were minor in their impact. Attempting to get at the phenomenon through the particulars we became excessively dependent on the ability of the respondents to assess these many minor situations. We were at their mercy. At Caddo the young people were often naive and in all probability responded without guile. At Delphi, the young people have an extraordinary technical competence at social matters. They understand the "system" and undoubtedly were aware their school was being rated. We suspected they were being careful and judged the returns from Delphi unconvincing. At all schools the situations being rated in the Index were sometimes contemporary and at issue, others were distant in time, some were entirely hypothetical, others were an every day experience. We also had doubts about the capacity for producing an accurate response on the part of some, as this capacity had already been confounded by the evidence that success or failure in school, sex, and the taste for Ressentiment itself had led to bias in scores. Consequently, the Ressentiment component was lost in the quicksand of chance, deceit and innocence. What was left was the many interesting response patterns to the individual items. These we came to respect. But, as for the sum, we grew to distrust it.

We have serious doubts about the wisdom of rating the schools along a simple scale denoting Ressentiment despite its objective attractiveness, and recommend instead, thoughtful reconsideration of the descriptions of the schools as totalities. We have no doubt, however, about the incidence of Ressentiment. There was evidence that it was present everywhere. The Ressentiment we discovered impressed us as being very much like fall-out. an insidious influence surrounding the individual and creeping into his bones, but difficult to quantify. Generally speaking, anent Ressentiment, we found Havencrest and Caddo least subject to Ressentiment. Havencrest provides a concrete situation in which the young people are encouraged and are allowed to indulge enthusiasm, and Caddo, a place where the adolescent can afford to be adolescent. Of the remaining schools, even including Ipswich, we are less sure.

Part III

Phase II - Data and Conclusions About Individuals

A. The Results of the Card Sorts and Interviews - General

As Part I of this report states in discussing the methodology of the study, our procedures were intended to permit us to identify, by means of the six-episode Q-Sort instrument, clusters of individuals who shared a common set of values that they expressed in patterns of card choices in responding to the series of events that transpired at LeMoyen High School. We expected to find at least two distinctive clusters of individuals. One of these clusters we called Conventional, expecting it to reveal by its card choices and subsequent statements in the interview that its members were predisposed to accept the leadership of formally and informally institutionalized authorities; a strong desire to please and to reduce conflicts to stereotyped terms in which they could most easily be handled. The other we called Adolescent: hypothesizing that these students would be primarily concerned with the meaning of their own identity as they develop it in the school setting. These students we expected to cluster together on the basis of card choices indicating a preference for growth through expressive freedom, respect for authority to the degree that it nurtured and disciplined individual development and style, and fidelity to feeling even when this was disruptive. We also expected that a large proportion of our subjects would fall into neither of these clusters; but either into smaller clusters generated by individuals who made their card choices on the basis of patterns of values that they shared only with a specialized minority of their fellows, or into no cluster at all. We have referred to these subjects whom we expected to find in small, specialized clusters or none as a "residual category"; but without, of course, the implication that the individuals assigned to it share a common set of values or point of view.

In a society that prides itself on its democratic pluralism, it seems reasonable to expect to find that secondary school students display a variety of points of view, as individuals or in common with small numbers of their peers who have special interests. Democratic polity assumes the existence of individual views and specialized minorities, and bases its claim to be superior to totalitarian forms largely on its presumed capacity to nurture diversity. Furthermore, one ought surely to expect our statistical procedure to generate, among others that we did not anticipate, a cluster of high-school students having the character we called Adolescent. Other clusters that might have emerged from the "residual category" would also have interested us; but we stressed the Conventional and Adolescent value positions in our research design because these value-sets, as revealed in student evaluations of high-school life, are closely related theoretically to Ressentiment and to the students' capacity to tolerate it.

Our hypotheses, therefore, suggest that schools which are perceived as highly ressentient by their students would contribute relatively few subjects to the putative Adolescent cluster, since Ressentiment, in its very essence, is hostile to adolescent exuberance, craftsmanship, and authenticity. In schools whose students find themselves harassed by Ressentiment, the risks of adolescence are very grave, and youngsters are likely to be driven by chronic, nagging anxiety either into conventionality or into eccentricity and privatization -- and hence into our "residual category". Conversely, in schools whose students feel the press of Ressentiment but lightly, adolescent exuberance and self-assertion are unlikely to be blocked by punishment, and should be characteristic concommitants of human growth. Conventionality is fostered by so many powerful forces in our society that it, too, should be prominent, though less prominent than in a highly ressentient social climate; but the "residual category" should surely shrink.

These expectations are basic to our research design, and correspondingly central to our hypotheses. They were not fulfilled. They were not fulfilled because our nine schools varied very little in rated Ressentiment and because we found no Adolescent cluster. Indeed, we found no clusters at all; only a pervasive conventionality and a "residual category" too anomic to contain any clusters expressing a common, dissident minority value-position of any kind. Our entire Q-Sort sample of 245 subjects[1] includes no group of as many as three individuals who distinguished themselves statistically by a pattern of card-choices common to themselves and distinct from their peers. Clustering by statistical analysis of a Q-Sort matrix is partly arbitrary, since the investigators may select any cut-off point they choose as indicating enough of a difference to make a difference. But the lower limit of such differences is set by probability theory. Our subjects either agreed so completely on their card-choices or, as individuals, differed so completely as to produce no distinct, minority value-patterns that could not most reasonably have been attributed to chance. The interviews, moreover, showed clearly that this was no artifact; they not only picked the same cards, they gave much the same reasons for picking them; and they selected cards that primarily expressed a Conventional position.

This fact immediately raises a question that looms large in any study of attitudes and values, especially among a socially subordinate group like high-school students: How can you be certain the subjects are expressing their true beliefs, and not just telling the interviewer what they think he wants to hear? In the case of this study, we cannot be sure, but there are reasons for believing the question to be less than crucial. The most obvious rejoinder is simply, "If they wanted to tell the interviewer what he wanted to hear, for God's sake, why didn't they?" No outcome of the study could have distressed us more than the responses most of the subjects actually gave. But there is also a fundamental theoretical reason why the possibility of faking seems to us unimportant. If a subject is not really conventional, submissive, and anxious to please, but only chooses to submit in order to please a strange interviewer with no power and no wish to constrain him -- then, surely, he is indeed conventional. He is not, of course, identical with those of his fellows who have made conventionality a way of life and are comfortable in it. But it is simply too late in the century to take much reassurance from the good guys who go along with the system out of canniness and courtesy, even though they personally reject it. Such people may be socially useful administrators, valuable in reducing friction and centrifugal force in a society that imposes frustrations on everyone and gives few occasion to rejoice. But what do they add up to? Too little, we fear, to justify the rejection of any null hypothesis.

The failure of our subjects to cluster also leaves us, of course, with the necessity of devising another statistical technique for the comparative analysis of portions of our data. The very dominance of the conventional position decreases the importance of such an analysis, while requiring us to emphasize more heavily the response of the entire group of Q-Sort subjects, taken as a whole, to the instrument. Our subjects were not monolithic in their responses, however; many displayed quite unusual value-patterns in their selections of card-comments in the Q-Sort. Some subjects showed, by their card selections and subsequent comments on the high-school situations to which the cards pertained, marked autonomy and a view of high school life that was at once uniquely personal and entirely cool and coherent. Others were uniquely incoherent, confused and inconsistent in trying to cope with situations that their more conventional peers dealt with by stereotype and their more autonomous fellows handled by insight and discipline. The diversity of these members of the "residual category" prevents them from falling into clusters; but their card-sorts nevertheless contrast sharply with those of more conventional members of the sample.

To identify those of our subjects who diverged most from the conventional position, so that their card-choices and statements might be compared to those of more conventional subjects, we carried out the following operation: First, the average pile-placement of each of the 54 Q-Sort cards -- nine for each episode -- was calculated for the entire group of respondents. Then, the sum of the squares of the differences between this "Grand-Average Pile-Placement" (hereafter GAPP) and the actual pile placement of each card by a subject was calculated. Subjects were then ranked according to this distance-score. The lower the rank the more closely the subject's card-placements resembled the GAPP; the higher the rank, the more he diverged.

This ranking then permits us to include in our discussion of student values revealed by our Q-Sort instrument illustrative examples selected to represent the points of view of especially typical and especially divergent subjects. It must, of course, be understood that the divergent comments quoted represent the point of view of the particular individual from whose interview they are taken, rather than that of a statistically determined cluster of similarly divergent subjects. Since, however, the author of this chapter did all the interviewing himself, it is possible for him to select excerpts from interviews that represented a fairly prevalent line of divergent reasoning on any particular episode of the six.

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[1] In all 247 subjects participated in the Q-Sort series. One did not return for the second interview, and another for the third.

B. EPISODE I - THE CLARK-BARTO INCIDENT

The first episode presented to our subjects, which is also the simplest, is called "The Clark-Barto" incident. The narrative to which our subjects were requested to relate their card choices was, in this case, deliberately kept simple so that the subject could become familiar with the comparatively complex procedure before having to deal with complexities in the episode itself. "The Clark-Barto Incident" was also the first episode written for the study; it was completed even before we had decided to give our imaginary high school a name. It reads, simply:

> Suppose that your school is strict in enforcing the rule against students smoking in washrooms. The following incident takes place:
>
> Mr. Arthur Clarke, a social studies teacher at your school, is taking his mid-morning coffee-break. On entering a men's washroom he discovers Johnny Barto, a Junior, and a somewhat notorious character around the school, smoking. Mr. Clarke knows that Johnny should be in class this hour and furthermore that he is a troublemaker, is having difficulty with his courses, is on probation, and that he is old enough to quit school. While Mr. Clarke and Johnny are approximately the same size, Johnny is not very strong. His whole attitude, though, is one of arrogance, as if to say, "Show me, Buddy."
>
> Now turn to the cards you have been given. On these cards you will find stated nine possible actions which Mr. Clarke might have taken on discovering Johnny. While it is also true that he might have undertaken to perform a combination of several of these, or might also have done something entirely different, disregard this. For the moment, think only in terms of each of these as separate and alternative actions. You will have sufficient opportunity after completing the test to discuss the adequacy of these separate actions. Please read all the cards through thoroughly. Then, having read them through:
>
> 1. Select the three cards which, you feel, represent the best actions that could have been taken under the circumstances.
>
> 2. From these three, select the one action which you think would have been best of all.
>
> 3. Returning to the cards remaining, select the three cards which you feel represent the worst actions that could have been taken under the circumstances.
>
> 4. From these three, select the one action which you feel would be worst of all.
>
> You should now have the cards arranged symmetrically in piles of 1, 2, 3, 2, 1 along an axis indicating the way you favor them as reactions to the situation described.

These directions, with minor variations in wording to fit the situation described in the narrative episode, are standard for all six episodes and will not be repeated in detail again, except as part of the complete set of instruments reproduced in Appendix B. The reader is referred to that Appendix for complete texts of the cards about to be discussed.

Our subjects' card choices for the Clarke-Barto Incident are summarized in Table B-1 page 65. The cards are listed in descending order of popularity, according to their grand-average-pile-placement (GAPP).[2]

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[2] Grand-Average-Pile-Placement (GAPP) is calculated by assigning a value of 4 for each subject selecting the card for "best"; 2.5 for each subject including the card among the two next best; -4 for each subject selecting the card as "worst"; and -2.5 for each subject including the card among the two poor cards; summing all placements and dividing by the number of subjects. A value of zero is assigned to cards left by subjects in the middle pile of three; these placements contribute to the number of subjects, but not to the sum used in calculating the GAPP. "Sigma" refers to the standard deviation of the distribution of each card into piles; and hence provides a measure of our subjects tendency to disagree with one another about the cards desirability.

TABLE B-1

SUBJECTS' CARD-CHOICES FOR THE CLARKE-BARTO INCIDENT

Card Pile Placement	Best	Good	Neutral	Poor	Worst	(GAPP)	Sigma
8-School psychologist	116	75	48	7	1	2. 6	1. 9
6-Calls parents	54	127	62	3	1	2. 1	1. 5
4-Send to principal	38	110	82	17	0	1. 6	1. 8
5-Student Court	25	112	96	11	3	1. 4	1. 7
1-Johnny fights Clarke	4	33	110	90	10	-0. 7	1. 9
7-Writes on blackboard	2	10	147	81	7	-0. 8	1. 5
3-A class example	5	14	104	83	41	-1. 3	1. 9
2-Clarke beats Johnny	1	4	49	115	78	-2. 4	1. 6
9-Clarke does nothing	2	9	43	87	106	-2. 5	1. 8
Sum (N = 247)	247	494	741	494	247		

In their response to The Clarke-Barto Incident our subjects established at the outset of their participation, and in crude terms, a value position which they were to enlarge and refine in the two subsequent sessions without substantial alteration. We appear to have been fortunate in choosing to begin this particular stage of the research procedure with a narrative embodying the conflicts and alternatives that The Clarke-Barto Incident suggests. We are about to discuss the implications of these choices and to illustrate them by excerpts from the recorded interviews; the reader will find the discussion more intelligible if he refers to the card-texts for The Clarke-Barto Incident in Appendix B.

Card 8, the card recommending that Johnny Barto be referred to the school psychologist for counseling, is much the most popular card of the nine available; it is the second card in popularity for the entire group of 54, having a GAPP just 0. 02 lower than card 6 for Episode IV. The "school psychologist" card appeals to our subjects chiefly for two reasons: it is technical, and it is perceived as benign and constructive rather than punitive. This card recommends treating Johnny as a problem; and one of the most consistent attributes of our subjects is their preference for treating situations as problems. But the psychologist is not expected to work with Johnny, he is supposed to tinker with him and straighten him out. Characteristically, they base their conclusion simply on the statement in the text that he is a "troublemaker" and breaks school regulations, so he is by definition a problem. Miss L., of Hartsburgh, a seventeen-year old academic twelfth-grader with a B+ grade average, whose father is a flight engineer, and whose card sort diverges least of any subject from the Grand-Average when calculated on the basis of the first session alone, and who ranks second in conventionality on the basis of the whole series, puts the matter quite succinctly:

> Well, this is the idea of the constructive help, and I think ... I don't know how good our school is in this field, but I think any child who is continually going against the rules of the school, or against the rules of society or however it is, that they should be helped in some way, and, and I don't know how the psychiatrist would be, but I think in some way he should be ... have counseling, and I think there is some constructive form of help that he can have.
>
> Int: Have you any reason to think that his problem is essentially psychiatric in kind?
>
> It's difficult to say, because in some cases it might be, in other cases it just might be rebellion, or he doesn't ... he's doing it because everybody else is. But I think if he's continually like this there should be some ... he should be sat down and they should talk to him about it and find out why he is doing it, and then progress from there.

Even very divergent subjects tended to accept essentially this point of view. Mr. Q., of Milgrim, a sixteen-year old tenth-grader who had just been moved into the commercial track from assignment as a "special", or exceptionally ungifted student, whose father is a postman and whose grade average is D, comments:

> Try to discuss it about him, you know. Try to ... talk to him, you know, and straighten him out. About the whole matter of smoking in the boy's room.
>
> Int.: But discussing it would ...
>
> Would help... Try to stop smoking inside the boy's room, try to understand himself, right, you know. There's a school here, and the rules are, you know, no smoking inside the boy's room.

Mr. Q. ranks 243 out of 247 in divergence from the Grand-Average on the first day, and 241 for the whole series.[3] The chief distinction in his response to The Clarke-Barto Incident is, however, simply his unusual humaneness. Most subjects thought the psychologist should treat Johnny like an object to be repaired, or at least a child to be "sat down" and talked to. Mr. Q. would help him "understand himself". He returns to this point in his summary comment on the whole episode:

> Int.: Do you have any suggestion for something that isn't on the cards? Some better way of handling the whole thing, than anything that was given? (Most subjects said "no" to this standard query.)
>
> Mmm ... I would call, you know, to call his attention on it, you know, about smoking inside the Boy's room. And talk to him and find out what he thinks about it.
>
> Int.: That's important too.
>
> Yeah. And what he thinks about it, and what he can do about it. Like, er, sending him down to the office, you know, and suspend him or something like that, you know, ask him why did you do it ... And you know, see, and see what you can do with him, and find out what he wants ... you know, if he stops or something like that.
>
> Int.: None of the cards suggests finding out from Johnny what Johnny wants.
>
> That's right, nobody asked him like ... like what ... what he would do, if the teacher was in the spot.

The most unpopular card, for this episode is Card 9: "Mr. Clarke acts as if he hadn't noticed Johnny and leaves the washroom as soon as possible". Only one other card in the entire series, Card 2, for Episode IV ranks lower. Our subjects largely agree that if Mr. Clarke did this he would be encouraging disorder and contumacy; he would get a reputation as an easy mark and everybody would start smoking in washrooms and go on from that to more serious mischief. Our subjects are convinced that the enforcement of regulations, rather than any internal tendency toward stability and homeostasis, is what keeps society from breaking down into disorder. Law enforcement, for them, is a social preservative rather than an assertion of principle or a categorical means of disposing of individuals whose behavior threatens society. They don't think smoking is wrong, and they don't usually particularly want to see Johnny punished. But he must be shown that he hasn't gotten by with anything.

To those readers who might accept this point of view as self-evident, and as reassuring evidence of the soundness of our youth's social views, it may be necessary to point out that professional opinion does not wholly support them. Erik Erikson, for example has frequently pointed out[4] that getting caught, and thereby confirmed in delinquent identity, often forecloses the delinquent's opportunity to see in himself the opportunity to "straighten out".

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[3] The higher the number the greater the divergence from the Grand Average Pile Placements for all cards (hereafter-Grand Average). The divergence is computed by means of a D^2 from the GAPP and following this, the students are ranked in order of their D^2. The numbers are rank orders from 1 to 247. The number one indicates the respondent placed his cards closer to the Grand Average than did any other respondent. The number 247 indicates the respondent placed his cards further from the Grand Average than did any other respondent. Respondents are ranked according to their responses, both for each day and for the whole series. Mr. Q's 243 for the first day and 241 for the whole series, indicates that he diverges greatly from the standard response. With N = 245 for the whole series, only four respondents were more divergent from the Grand Average in their responses than was he.

[4] See "Ego-Identity and the Psychosocial Moratorium" in New Perspectives for Research in Juvenile Delinquency, H. C. Witmer and R. Kosinsky, Eds. (Washington, U.S. Children's Bureau Publication #356, pp. 1-23).

American society, moreover, is in general neither law-abiding nor highly anomic; people live mostly according to a reasonable understanding of what forms of illegality are tolerable, while the law is invoked to clean up messes that get out of hand. Our subjects do not see it this way, however. Mr. R., of Parma, whose father is a chemist and whose mother is a school counselor, a 12th grader with an A average in an academic track, commented:

> I don't think any, any teacher can just go, uh ... I mean, doing this. He's ignoring the rules of the school, which is ... he has a duty to report this kid and, uh, whether this duty is right or not, whether it's morally right or whatever it is, he still had that duty ... this is, this is terrible, I thought. He doesn't help the kid at all. The kid ... first of all, he's shrugging the duty that he has. First, he has a duty to the school, and second, he's shrugging the duty he has to the kid ... He should report him right then. The kid'll think he'll get away with it.

Mr. R. ranks ninth for the day, and 12th for the series, in divergence from the Grand Average. We quote him rather than choose a subject who ranks still lower because his comments -- though flustered by irritation with Johnny and Mr. Clark -- are on the whole exceptionally coherent and cogent, so that the interviewer can vouch for the representativeness of the excerpt quoted. Mr. R., moreover, is interesting for another reason: he is an extra in the sample, and as indicated in Part I, was not chosen at random to participate in the Q-Sort interviews. He was so interested in the study that, as he later revealed, he had worked his way into the sample by appealing to the school-counseling office at the time it was selected, and regarded himself -- as he was widely regarded in the school -- as a leader and "non-conformist". It is ironical, then, but worthy of note that this aggressive breach of randomness brought into the study a subject who proved to be one of its most conventional members.

As a positive aspect of their conservatism, our subjects share a strong, if simplified sense that due process is inherent in a proper respect for social roles. After the "school psychologist" card, the most popular cards are those that recommend calling Johnny's parents, sending him to the principal, and bringing him before the student court in that order. Only these cards had positive GAPP's, and all of them recommend that Johnny's "case" be referred to a legitimate authority. Those subjects who opposed informing the parents or the principal usually justified their position on the grounds that Johnny was a troublemaker of long standing, and that if the parents or the principal had been able to cope with him, they would have already "straightened him out". Even the youngsters who selected these cards as good -- having already selected the "school psychologist" card as best nearly half the time -- gave the proved ineffectiveness, in this case of these traditional sources of authority as reasons for placing them second among the resources to be used for solving Johnny.

The relatively frequent approval of the use of a "student court" is interesting, in view of the fact that only Hartsburgh and Ipswich in our sample had such institutions, and both these made comparatively little use of them. Milgrim had instituted such a court, but it had been abandoned the previous year because, as several informants told us, the "hoody element" had gotten control of it and were dismissing charges against most of the defendants, who were usually their close friends, either through acquittal or by accepting pleas of insanity. As the preceding table shows, few students opposed the use of a student court. Having seen student courts in operation, and being more familiar than most of our subjects could have been with the ease with which a school administration can manipulate such courts to enforce a more intrusive and authoritarian policy than it can maintain through its own office, we are inclined to speculate that a sample of students which had had more contact with student courts might have given card 5 a lower GAPP. Our subjects, however, often expected that such courts would be effective because, being composed of students, they could get to Johnny better than an adult authority could. Some subjects meant this humanely, and stressed that Johnny's fellow students would understand why Johnny acted as he did better than adults would. Others felt that Johnny would fear humiliation before his fellows more than before the adult authorities he contemned, and would therefore be brought into line by court action. In any case, it is important to note that subjects who defended the court did not view it as a judicial body; but as an instrument for penetrating Johnny's defenses, whether by sympathy or humiliation. Thus, fifteen-year old Mr. X., of Parma, an eleventh-grader with a B+ average in the academic track, whose father is a physician, and who rather regretfully chose this card as best over card 3 which recommends that Mr. Clarke make an example of Johnny before Clarke's own class, comments:

> I think this would be a little more effective since this would be representative of the whole student body instead of just one small group, that one class.... I think Mr. Clarke's logic on this would be more or less to embarrass this boy in front of a group of students. Tell me, would this be in a group his own age?

> Int. : Well, presumably, or younger. He's a junior.
>
> Or younger? Because if it was younger, they might take it as more or less of a joke. . . .
>
> Int. : What's good about picking this (Card 3) at all?
>
> Well, this would tend to make Johnny . . . would tend to make him feel ashamed of himself, ashamed of what he did. If it was a group of his own intellectual level or higher, preferably higher, then he would think it over a bit and after these class members would suggest . . . I think they would not only suggest punishment, but reasons why Johnny should not smoke or do the things that he'd been doing. They might do the same thing in the student court. That was my reasoning on that.

Mr. X., however, too closely resembles the ideal-type-construct of conventionality to be really conventional; he falls in the middle 50% of our subjects in divergence from the Grand Average. He is, in fact, what Mr. Q. of Milgrim, in evaluating one of the characters in a later episode, called a "brownie" and as such represents a fairly unpopular position, at least in favoring Card 3. All the cards suggesting that Mr. Clarke take matters into his own hands, instead of going through channels, received negative GAPP's, though not such large negative GAPP's as Card 9. But, again and again, our subjects explained their dislike of these cards on bureaucratic and pragmatic[5] grounds; rarely on moral grounds. The proposed actions would not work and were "out of line". Johnny would resent them and might behave worse than ever; Mr. Clarke would expose himself to ridicule and, in the case of Cards 1 and 2, might even get himself fired or sued.

Miss J., a fifteen-year old tenth-grader with a B- average at Hartsburgh, whose father is a salesman and who is regarded as a student leader and is a member of the school honor society, makes this point. Miss J. does not fall in the lowest quartile toward conventionality in her responses on the first session, but ranks fifth from the Grand Average for all three days. She observes about Card 2:

> No, because physical action would just end up making Johnny more rebellious against Mr. Clarke. And it could get Mr. Clarke into more trouble. And, well, lectures don't usually work; no, you have to have some kind of a way of pointing out things but without giving a lecture. Because people generally get bored with a lecture and they just, hmnh, every five minutes, and striking wouldn't work in my opinion. And it would just make him more rebellious.

In writing the episode, we intended cards 2, 3, 7, and 8 as the cards most expressive of Ressentiment. Cards 2 (Clarke beats Johnny) and 8 (school psychologist) present Mr. Clarke's action as beneficent regardless of its actual content. Cards 3 (class example) and 7 (writes on blackboard) force Johnny to grovel and lie about his real feelings, putting him through what Harry Stack Sullivan called an "as if" performance of the most destructive kind.[6] Card 1 (Johnny fights Clarke) by contrast was intended to represent an emotionally authentic, if ill-advised, action; and Card 9 (Clarke does nothing) an impunitive one. Cards 4, 5, and 6 (send to principal, student court, and parents) though contaminated with Ressentiment, are much less ressentient than 2, 3, 7, and 8.

The pattern of response indicated by the GAPP for the cards in this episode, and expressed in the kinds of comments illustrated above, raises some curious questions about the influence of Ressentiment on the values of our subjects. They are ressentient, but Ressentiment is much less conspicuous a determinant of their responses than certain other factors; notably pragmatism and a bureaucratic sense of order. They assume that they are to select as best those cards that offer the most promising program for "straightening Johnny out" -- though there is nothing in the narrative portion of the episode to suggest this -- and they assume that any change in Johnny that makes him less of a troublemaker and a better citizen in school is beneficial to Johnny. Since one of the salient characteristics of Ressentiment is enthusiasm for philanthropic intervention in the affairs of others, in the interests of piety and restraint and without regard for the victim's own feelings and purposes, our subjects' approach to Johnny Barto seems clearly laden with Ressentiment. But there are further indications that this is not quite the right word for their approach. They dislike Card 2 much more strongly than Card 1, for example: Mr. Clarke shouldn't lose his temper but this will not make Johnny as rebellious as beating him coldly. And there are rudiments of what, in a society with more respect for human dignity than ours usually affords, might become a real sense of due process and its value in their preference for working through constituted authority.

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[5] Both empiricism and pragmatism have been suggested as words to describe this process. Neither is entirely satisfactory, for, from our point of view, both are too noble. Both imply some over-riding principle governing action. What we are describing is an adaptive process of limited transcendental significance, a reflex empiricism in that in making judgements the subject-operant relies on current practice, whatever it might be, and a reflex pragmatism in that the result must be "practical" in its consequences. Our subjects were, on the whole, well conditioned. They treated the episodes as if these were class tests and that somewhere there must be a teacher's manuel replete with approved answers. They envisioned their task as something akin to an exercise in physical science, and busily set about at ferreting out those approved answers. Unfortunately, in life there is no teacher's manuel. We settled, finally, for the word pragmatism to designate this process in honor of its close kinship with practice.

[6] The Interpersonal Theory of Psychiatry. New York: Norton, 1953, pp. 208-211.

Most of our subjects are little organization men and women; but organization men are in many respects less ressentient than certain more highly individualized types; John Calvin seethed with Ressentiment; while contemporary leaders are more likely to hope they can manipulate their followers into quiescence without actually having to punish anybody. Ressentiment, for all its cant, cloaked a genuine though ambivilent moral posture; if its love was false, the hate it disguised was real enough. Our subjects are too modern for such unequivocal self-assertion. They see situations as problems to be solved, and are willing to do anything that will work in solving them. They are not moralistic enough to be truly ressentient.

C. EPISODE II - THE LEMOYEN BASKETBALL TEAM

This uncritical practicality swamps anticipated Ressentiment in the subjects' responses to the second episode, The LeMoyen Basketball Team. This episode is the second of the two to which subjects responded during the first interview; the rankings of subjects' divergence from the Grand Average for the first interview are based on their card-sorts for this instrument and for The Clarke-Barto Incident. The reader should turn to Appendix B and read the text of this episode before continuing with this analysis of its interpretation.

Since our subjects, by the time they had got to this episode, would already have had a run-through on the basic format of the instrument, we felt free to make the stories more elaborate for this episode and its four successors. At this point, then, we gave our imaginary school a name -- LeMoyen High School -- and began to give a truly serial character to the events we depicted there. This will become apparent as we consider these episodes consecutively, and note the vicissitudes to which the same characters are subjected in them. All the episodes, of course, are designed to detect the functioning of Ressentiment by setting up situations that involve conflicts among possible ressentient and non-ressentient responses. In The LeMoyen Basketball Team, the heart of this conflict is between a support and recognition of excellence in sport and the alternative use of the basketball team to equalize opportunity for the poor and athletically inept.

To sharpen the conflict, moreover, we decided to attribute this athletic excellence to both a white and a Negro player, and to depict these as members of upper-status familes in a community in which an established Negro middle-to-upper class existed. However overdue the redress of Negro grievances in this country may be, the achievement of this redress and its rationalization by white Americans is accompanied by much obvious Ressentiment. By writing our story in such a way that Grant Eubanks was presented as highly competent and successful, well-off and actually the sponsor and friend of the wealthy white newcomer Kevin McGuire, we intended to give pause to any subjects who might incline toward a racially "liberal" position primarily to favor the underdog and put down superiority. Conversely, by making the poorer players whose chance of a position on the starting five is threatened by McGuire's candidacy also Irish, we intended to neutralize any possible opposite tendency to defend racial discrimination as solicitude for the poor and awkward. As our story is contrived, subjects cannot simultaneously nurture the excellent and the deprived; they must choose, and reveal their values by their justification of their choice.

Their card choices are summarized in Table B-2, page 70.

Taken as a whole, our subjects' responses to The LeMoyen Basketball Team reflect a strong commitment to conventional democratic ideology. There were no perceptibel regional differences between our Southern and Northern subjects on expressed commitment to democracy, which does not seem to us paradoxical. Southern racial prejudice, among the young at least, is almost certainly more often an expression of excessive accomodation to what they believe the situation demands of them than of honest hostile feeling; in a situation that obviously does not demand a prejudiced response none appears. Southerners, like most people, prefer to be decent if it costs little enough. Our subjects preferred the card-statements that supported free access to opportunity on the basketball team. They also supported excellence in athletics as the most important criterion for access to the team. We have long suspected that emphasis on athletics, far from being trivial -- though it may certainly be abused -- has functioned as one of the few strong sources of integrity for American youth, precisely because it is one of the few areas of integrity in which status is directly linked to prowess, and also is validated by social approval. Adolescents who demonstrate comparable political or sexual competence are punished, rather than rewarded; while academic achievement is corrupted by the inadequacy of standards in many schools, the falsity of much of the content, and the external, instrumental uses to which academic achievement is devoted in the quest for economic opportunity. But a good ball player knows that he really possesses the competences that win him distinction. On the playing field, at least, boys learn something true about who they really are.

TABLE B-2

SUBJECTS' CARD-CHOICES FOR THE LEMOYEN BASKETBALL TEAM

Card Pile Placement	Best	Good	Neutral	Poor	Worst	GAPP	Sigma
3- "...unmixed delight..."	53	128	51	11	4	2.0	1.8
1- "...only important thing."	91	69	35	36	16	1.6	2.7
7- "...official school organization..."	34	81	100	25	7	1.0	2.0
9- "...irrelevant racial issue..."	27	69	115	31	5	0.7	2.0
2- "...isn't to win games..."	22	53	115	49	8	0.3	2.1
6- "...just what he needs..."	15	67	104	40	21	0.2	2.2
4- "...no moral issue..."	1	7	128	71	40	-1.3	1.7
5- "...might find it very helpful..."	2	12	48	115	70	-2.1	1.8
8- "...too risky..."	2	8	45	116	76	-2.3	1.7
Sum (N = 247)	247	494	741	494	247		

We would therefore expect The LeMoyen Basketball Team to provide us with some of our least ressentient responses. It does. In fact, the two most ressentient cards, 5 and 8, are the most unpopular cards in the set of 9. These cards are written in a deliberately canting style, which many subjects found repugnant. But it is not just style; the central reason for rejecting either of these cards can hardly be stated more succinctly than Miss L., the Hartsburgh girl who occupied the most central position for the day and the second most central for the whole series, whose comments on The Clarke-Barto Incident have already been cited, stated it:

> ...because sometimes people who are good are good, and there's no getting away from it, and they're very confident of themselves, and they present their confidence and you know that they're confident, and there's nothing like, you could say that would upset them.

Her companion on this interview, which was a joint one, Mr. McC., a fifteen year old tenth-grader in the college-preparatory program with a C+ average whose father is a printer, adds:

> Well, I think that if you're going to play together it doesn't make any difference what you are or who you are, you're all there for the same purpose, playing basketball as far as this goes.

Mr. McC. is also conventional in his choices, ranking eighth from the Grand Average both for the day and for the series.

Our subjects' low ressentience in the area of athletics, coupled with their extreme and consistent pragmatism, led them to respond to two of the cards in a manner totally different from what we had expected. The fairly popular card 7 and the neutral card 9 were both included in the series to permit subjects to use them as the basis for a Ressentiment-laden argument for rejecting McGuire if they wished. Card 7 reads:

> A basketball team is an official school organization, and official school organizations should be representative. It is the responsibility of the principal and the Board to see to it that the basketball coach -- no matter who he is -- runs the team for the benefit of the whole school and not as his private club.

We had expected subjects who favored this card to argue that a "representative" team should find a place for youngsters of varying degrees of competence and thereby to justify preserving the poor, Irish boys against McGuire's competition. But to them, "representative" usually meant rather a team that would represent the school effectively; that is, a good team, a winning team. The coach should not be allowed to keep a good player off it just to keep from having to deal with a troublesome situation. When our subjects picked Card 7, they generally used it to argue for McGuire's inclusion.

On Card 2, a similar reversal occurred in our subjects' response to the last sentence, "The business of a high-school basketball coach isn't to win games, but to give every boy his fair chance to participate, even if he isn't such an expert." A plurality of our subjects left this card in the middle as trivial, and slightly more favored it than rejected it, usually by agreeing with it as stated. But nearly as many rejected the card -- it has a very high sigma -- and usually on the grounds that it was silly. The business of a basketball coach, as is well known, is to win games; and equality of opportunity should, according to custom, be taken care of by letting the duffers play in intramurals. When we wrote the cards, we never thought of this.

Generally speaking, then, our subjects' responses to this episode were reassuring evidence that normal American youth applies democratic values sensibly and coolly to the problems it presents. But there are some flaws in the picture, nevertheless. Most of our subjects, as we have said, reiterated their opposition to racial discrimination. But very few perceived without being led to consider the matter, by questioning, that the story was not about racial discrimination and that their comments were not really relevant. They were seldom able to formulate, and were sometimes unable to comprehend, the implications that really were central to the story concerning the probability of economic rivalry among members of the same ethnic group arising in the situation described. When they did deal with this problem, they usually dismissed it on the grounds -- probably just enough -- that McGuire would have sense enough to act like a nice guy, and not think he was superior, so that the difficulty would be concealed or controlled by his upper-middle class social skills. Thus, Mr. M., one of the many St. Elmo students of Irish extraction, a fifteen year old tenth-grader with a B average, whose father is a technical writer, and who ranks eleventh for the day and 27th for the series in distance from the Grand Average (out of 245) comments:

> ... they should realize that there was one of their own kind that suggested the Irish, and, actually, so, that there shouldn't be any reason why...
>
> Int.: Umnh.
>
> There shouldn't be.
>
> Int.: Yes. Not on racial grounds.
>
> Yes
>
> Int.: What about on some other grounds?
>
> Oh, it, well, of, well these two boys that were, Eubanks and McGuire, they're both well-off, from the paragraph.
>
> Int.: Umnhm.
>
> But I suppose the other ones, the others of ... it said some poor Irish boys ... and I suppose some Negroes were, they weren't all well-off. That could cause that. A bitter conflict probably, probably cause a lot. I was just thinking that I don't think it matters much about their wealth because if two wealthy boys can get along so well, and one even say the other is better than him, then I don't see why poorer ones shouldn't get along just as well.

> Int. : Yes.
>
> And they should be just as good friends as anyone else.

Mr. M.'s comments, which are quite typical of our subjects, suggest that America, in its relentless efforts to shield its youth from the influences of Marxist thought, may have succeeded so well as to leave them under some slight intellectual impairment. Economic factors are by no means the sole determinant of social behavior; but they cannot be picked up and dropped again like that. But most of our subjects treat social-class differences, economic position, and politics as separate, scarcely related entities, all of which make them uncomfortable.

Mr. M. continues his comments on the unpopular Card 4 in a way that emphasizes this distinction far less than most of the subjects who reject Card 4 do:

> Well, this I thought was the stupidest one because it says that "there isn't so much of a moral issue here, but politically Mr. Regan is certainly on the spot." I don't see how it could be politically on the spot, except it might cause a little bit of friction, you might call it, you know, between the Irish and the coloreds because a colored boy ... I mean an Irish boy ... is being placed on top of the coloreds, getting more glory and what you call it, than a Negro. But that, I don't think is, is those students, there, had to realize, I don't think that it was too much politically, a political problem. But I, I'm sure that they'd get along.

More commonly, however, our subjects reject Card 4 because they see it as the reverse of true. The situation, as they see it, does present a *moral* problem, because Mr. Regan ought to let McGuire on the team if he can show that he is as good as Eubanks says he is. But it does not present a *political* problem, because our subjects do not think of social groups like teams as having politics. Politics are found only in the public sphere. They dismiss, sensibly, the idea that Mr. Regan would be likely to find himself under external pressure either to keep McGuire off the team or to put him on it -- if he were, he ought to be man enough to resist it. But they do not see the problem of group-dynamics presented by McGuire's candidacy as being political at all.

The net picture, then, is of sensible, good-humored young people with correct democratic values who do not worry about social dynamics because they know what they have to do in order to get along. They are hardly ever mean; *Ressentiment* is low. But the prevailing tone is still both adaptive and manipulative. Even in dealing with athletics, which quite authoritative students of American adolescence, notably James Coleman in *The Adolescent Society*[7] -- see as an area of intense emotional involvement for adolescents, their comments remain detached and without much enthusiasm. This seems to us a loss, and a serious part of the cost to them of their social equipoise.

If the reader feels this conclusion to result from our romanticizing the possibilities, and expecting too much of high school youngsters, we would like him to consider the response of Mr. H., of Hartsburgh, an academic 10th grader with a B average, whose father is a salesman. Mr. H. is not really very far from the Grand Average on the basis of his card sorts; he falls just above the lowest quartile on the first day, and around the 15th percentile for the entire series. On *The LeMoyen Basketball Team*, his card-choices are 9, 3, 6, 1, 7, 2, 4, 5, 8. Reference to the preceding table shows that his three choices for poor cards correspond exactly with the popular position, though he tends to reverse the usual pattern for positive and trivial cards. Mr. H., though slight of frame and nervy as a small thoroughbred, is an athlete: track, wrestling, football. Of all our subjects Edward H. is perhaps most in touch with his feelings:

> Oh, I see; I think I see now. Well, I think there's no feeling quite like running down the track or something and winning. Or going out on the football field and suddenly deciding you liked this, and you do it, you feel kinda crazy. Like I was in a ball game last year that we lost by a very bad score but in the midst of it I was, seemed to be having a fairly good day. And I just felt light-headed, and I just didn't play, I played for the heck of it, for the fun of it because I just wanted to. And I was very, I mean I'd be schmeared a couple of times. I'd get up and laugh my head off and I wouldn't know why I was laughing, and I certainly shouldn't have been laughing because I really got schmeared. And I'd go back to the huddle and I'd be dying laughing, and they'd think I was crazy but I enjoyed it. And it was just, I couldn't stop it and I, I mean, after the game was over I felt terrible because we lost so

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[7] New York: The Free of Glencoe, 1961.

> bad. But during the game it was just this feeling of exuberance. I was having fun and nothing much could be done about it, you know? And I was having fun because I was just, I was able to have fun, I was doing something that at the time I was doing reasonably well. And I just enjoyed it. During that game I was happy. But after the game I was not so happy because we lost so badly. And that's the thing, I think that it's a temporary thing, when you're not realizing it, you're not really trying to think about it, you just know that you're enjoying what you're doing right now. And you don't have to think about it or worry about something else. And I think this happens to me because I'm a chronic worrier about everything. It happens many times that I can't forget but what something that may seem to somebody else minor, but to me seems a major trouble. And it just, I enjoy when I can forget something like this and enjoy a situation like this. That I'm really, it's just something that comes out, you know, to make up for all the times ... I should have been happy and wasn't. And most of the time I'm pretty exuberant but I'm either exuberant or, there's very few times when I'm halfway, I'm either exuberant or downcast. And depressed. And, well, at that time I was particularly exuberant. And it just felt good. And, then, after the game I was particularly depressed but it was worth it. For ten minutes of that I'd trade weeks of feeling depressed because it's a good feeling ... I was going out there, I was doing a fairly good job. It seems the fellow in front of me that was supposed to be first string wasn't doing so good so I played. And I did a pretty good job, but I just enjoyed it, and I couldn't help it, and I'd get hit and bounced all over the ground and I'd get up laughing and the guys would think I was crazy, and the kid from the town would look at me, you know, "and what's the matter with you, kid?" But I enjoyed it, it's a release, and you feel as if you don't have to worry about anything and, you know, it's just exuberance. As if there's something that really can touch you. And you're running toward this, like, as you said before. You're running towards it, you're doing it because right then and there you're enjoying it ... it's just now, and you're hoping that two seconds from now it will be just like that. And that's the thing. And that's why, I think that's why, most kids ... that's why a lot of times I've played football and track, because I'm not really that good an athlete. It's just that sometimes I like it and then it's worth it. And then with that feeling, all these things add up. You know, the feeling of accomplishment and everything. It's worth it. And I think that's why, I think that's why most kids play sports. I do know a few that this seems to, they do not, they don't seem to really enjoy it. They seem to feel as if they owe someone a debt. And it's a debt that has to be paid violently and they're out to pay it. And sometimes they're pretty good football players. This seems to make a kind of a good type of football player. But I don't think they really enjoy the game.

Mr. H. is right. The gamesmen play the game well; the lifemen live with great technical skill; but they do not enjoy it much. Mr. H., who sometimes does, is not unique; the football captain and his best guard at Havencrest were later to show some similar sense of fulfillment in their response to The LeMoyen Basketball Team. Together, they constitute a little more than 1 per cent of our sample. For a freedom-loving, affluent people, this is a good average?

These two episodes constituted the agenda for the first session each subject had with the interviewer. The second, which might occur from a day to a week later, dealt with two more episodes: III, The LeMoyen Dance; and IV, The King's Visit.

D. EPISODE III - THE LEMOYEN DANCE

Like the preceding episode, The LeMoyen Dance is the story of an awkward situation arising in the course of a routine extracurricular activity. As in the story of The LeMoyen Basketball Team, the choices presented in the cards require a decision between supporting an open, though commonplace activity, and a superior but exclusive one. As in the story of the Clarke-Barto Incident, the proposed actions vary as to the degree to which constraint is overt and explicitly hostile, or covert and rationalized as in the students' best interests. Cards 3, 4, 5 and 9, are intended as relatively low in Ressentiment; cards 1, 2, 6, 7 and 8 as relatively high.

But again, and to an even greater degree than The LeMoyen Basketball Team, the story of The LeMoyen Dance is hard to treat as a problem to be solved with the card-statements provided. These cards cannot be interpreted as offering alternative means of controlling the dance; as the cards for The Clarke-Barto Incident could be treated as suggesting alternative procedures for "straightening Johnny out".

We have already seen that the comparative resistance of the basketball episode to a direct empirical approach blurred the patterns of card choice it elicited from our subjects, notably in the tendency of the cards to score higher sigmas, as an indication of greater diversity in the views our subjects held of them. With reference to The LeMoyen Dance, the pattern becomes more blurred still.

This condition is quite clearly reflected in Table B-3 below.

TABLE B-3

SUBJECTS' CARD-CHOICES FOR THE LEMOYEN DANCE

Card Pile Placement	Best	Good	Neutral	Poor	Worst	GAPP	Sigma
7- "keep unpretentious"	45	69	91	40	1	1.0	2.2
3- "brawl or rat-race"	39	75	87	33	12	0.9	2.3
1- "more acceptable solution"	47	63	82	45	9	0.8	2.4
6- "exclusive social affair"	29	67	99	43	8	0.6	2.6
9- "can get awfully tired"	37	57	97	43	12	0.6	2.2
5- "cracked down"	11	44	105	68	18	-0.4	2.1
4- "There is nothing..."	11	60	70	71	34	-0.5	2.5
2- "It is unfortunate..."	21	41	64	79	41	-0.7	2.6
8- "Suspend the dance"	6	16	43	70	111	-2.3	1.7
Sum (N = 246)	246	492	738	492	246		

Only one card in this series arouses from our subjects anything like a consistent pattern of response comparable to those evoked by cards 8 and 9 for The Clarke-Barto Incident. This is card 8, which reads:

> Unfortunately, the Student Council is not the proper body to get to the root of a problem like this. Youngsters have to learn -- sometimes the hard way -- to bear the responsibility for their own misconduct. The school authorities should suspend the dance for a year, to teach the students that the privilege of holding it depends on their power to discipline their own conduct. This is a far more important question than what kind of dance they have.

This card attempts, apparently successfully, to capture the spirit of constraint in something of the language in which schools often express it. It is a highly ressentient statement, and our subjects cordially dislike it, as both the GAPP and the low sigma show. Miss K. of Martingale, having already commented in connection with card 6 that "it is good for them (students) to have the response ... be responsible for the dance because this is all part of school and, and everything," comments on this card, which she considers worst:

> Well, it isn't right to suspend, suspend the dance on just a few students because, I mean, some students ... let's say they do like this and then others don't, and those that don't like it don't have to go to it.
>
> Int.: Yes.
>
> But those who do, it isn't fair to suspend it on them for the other students' account and, er ... well that's more like it, what I say, I don't think it is right.

Miss K. is a 14-year old 10th grader with a B average in a commercial track, who lists her father's occupation simply as "electronics," and her mother as a "social worker." She places 5th from the Grand Average for the day and 7th for the series. Her comments are typical as far as they go, but most subjects took more factors into account in their responses and were somewhat more fluent.

Though card 8 is both highly unpopular and loaded with Ressentiment, it is not at all clear that it is the Ressentiment that repels the subjects. They do not complain of the card's mincing, sugary punitiveness; but of the unfairness of locking the ballroom door after the dance has been stolen; of students being denied the chance to learn by their own mistakes by excessive paternalism, and they dislike intrusion into what they regard as their own social sphere. But the tone of the card, though designed to be offensively sanctimonious, excites little comment. Our subjects, as a rule, are too practical to take offense. Generally speaking, there is no tendency for the cards we designated as relatively more ressentient to be either more or less frequently rated "good" than the less ressentient cards. Both the most and the least popular cards in the series for The LeMoyen Dance are meant to express Ressentiment.

No other card in the series evokes a pattern of student response consistent enough among our subjects to be regarded as a typical expression of their ethos. The cards for The LeMoyen Basketball Team likewise evoked a mixed response; but the response was nevertheless enlightening to us because the subjects often looked at the cards in unexpected ways and made their decisions on the basis of factors we had not thought of. This rarely happened in The LeMoyen Dance. About the only point the subjects brought up at all frequently that we had not anticipated was a distinction between a dance and a "prom". This is technical but, in high school life, important; just as the availability of intramurals for duffers became a fairly important and unexpected issue in The LeMoyen Basketball Team. If we had called the dance a "prom" we would have produced a shift in favor of the more expensive proposal; and even -- perhaps especially -- in those schools in our sample with lowest per-capita family income. Subjects in such schools expected and desired that formal dances be held at least once a year. But even an "annual Spring Dance" would not qualify, if it had traditionally been a juke-box and coke affair.

This episode, then, contributed less to the study than any other of the six. The author of this chapter was also the interviewer, and is being guided as he writes by recollection as well as by the structure of the study and the statistical analysis we have made in the course of it; all three tell us where to look for the answers to the questions we have raised. In the case of The LeMoyen Dance, recollection contributes little indeed. Whatever they said, for or against the cards they had chosen, our subjects stuck close to conventional reasoning, raising just the issues that the card-texts suggest. What makes their responses to The LeMoyen Dance episode unpatterned is not ambiguity or inconsistency in response to any particular card or cards, but the absence of any principle or of any prevailing bias of feeling -- including Ressentiment -- underlying all their card choices.

E. EPISODE IV - THE KING'S VISIT

Had the fourth episode, The King's Visit, proved to be as unproductive, the second interview with each subject would have been rather too dull an experience to wish to repeat 246 times. It did not. This episode is probably the most useful in the series, though the first and last, taken together, get down to even deeper fundamentals. The reader is referred again to Appendix B for the brief text of The King's Visit, and for the card-texts that accompany it; in this case, they are fairly complex single-paragraph descriptions of students to be considered for inclusion in the King's delegation.

Subject's card-choices for The King's Visit are highly patterned and their comments rich. The card distribution is presented in the following table.

TABLE B-4

SUBJECTS' CARD-CHOICES FOR THE KING'S VISIT

Card Pile Placement	Best	Good	Neutral	Poor	Worst	GAPP	Sigma
6- Karen Clarke	109	91	35	9	2	2.6	1.8
3- Elfrieda Eubanks	60	116	57	12	1	2.0	1.8
7- Bernstein Sisters	36	70	104	30	6	0.9	2.1
8- Nicky Galetti	9	52	119	56	10	-0.1	2.0
5- Ronny, Big Joe and Pink	10	49	113	60	14	-0.2	2.1
1- Nancy Harris	0	41	123	68	14	-0.5	1.9
9- Scott Cowen	10	31	87	90	28	-0.9	2.2
4- Johnny Adams	9	26	64	106	41	-1.3	2.2
2- Eric Pratt	3	16	36	61	130	-2.5	2.1
Sum (N = 246)	246	492	738	492	246		

The subject closest to the Grand Average for the second interview, who ranks 50th for all three days, is Miss H., a 15-year old tenth grader at Caddo, whose father is a salesman. Her comments fit the usual attitudes of our sample like a clammy rubber glove:

> Well, Karen Clarke seems to be, you know, she seems to be very, um, you know, studient (sic). She knows a, she's not one of these girls who just goes around, you know, just for looks, you know, and trying to get the boys' attention. She seems to know a lot and she's friendly with everybody and she's ... tries and, you know, she tries to be friendly with everybody and she's careful about what she says to them and I figure, you know, she speaks to the King, she won't, you know, say the wrong thing. She'll know what to say to him, you know, and how to act, and she's very, she looks very nice. She dresses neatly and everything and it'd be a good influence on the school because I think they said that, um, she was, uh, like a model student of schools or something and she looks like what a regular student should look like...
>
> Int.: Then Card 3, Elfrieda Eubanks.
>
> Um, well it seems here, um, now she is, she was very popular with the people, you know and she's, it seems she's in a lot of clubs, you know, and everything and she, I mean, she wouldn't, you know, she'd know what to say to the, the man, she wouldn't go around, you know, just flirting with him or anything like that ... She, you know, she's like she's ... she keeps a smile on her face just as they say, when she's talking to people, you know, if she looks sorta happy, it'll make him feel better, you know. He won't feel so uncomfortable.
>
> Int.: That she'd be a, puts people at their ease.
>
> Yes, they'll feel comfortable. They won't be tense or anything.
>
> Int.: Did you think of her as a Negro?
>
> No (she laughs). I don't think she is, is she?
>
> Int.: Yes.
>
> She was? I read that, she still seems that way. It's all right.
>
> Int: It doesn't say that she is there. How do, how would you know that she was, or do you find that you don't know?

You don't really know. (Miss H. has completed The LeMoyen Basketball Team just a few hours before, and the card for Elfrieda plainly identifies her as Grant Enbanks' sister, though not as a Negro.)

....

Int.: Then the worst choice was Card 2, Eric Pratt.

Well, I figured, you know, if he went to see the King he'd, you know, try to show off and be a real big deal guy, you know, try and make ... and he probably wouldn't know how to be formal with a man like the King, you know. He'd be real informal. He might look neat, in his way, you know, real, I think as they would say, cool-looking, but I don't know. I don't think he'd get along 'cause he's just a girl ... a ladies' man, really, that's what he thinks he is. I think if it was a woman or something, he might get along pretty good with her, but not with a man.

Int.: That he was just too ... too much of an operator, smooth?

He is.

Int: Then Card 9, Scott Cowen, you wouldn't send.

Um, this is the boy, uh, oh, he's supposed to be a real genius. I think he'd take it too much to his head if he went to see the King because I think right now I feel that he, he's not neat or anything but he, he's a genius sort of, but he's so sloppy, you know, and he, you know, he's quick, he's got a quick temper and I'm afraid he might, you know, with the King, he might lose his temper at something the King might say, you know. He wouldn't be too good, you know, 'cause he's liable to start arguing with him and that wouldn't look too good.

Int.: Why wouldn't it?

Well, if he starts arguing with the King, you know, I don't know, he just, it just wouldn't be right, you know, to go tell the King he's doing something wrong, and he's sloppy also. He might be smart but it isn't too good to send someone sloppy and messy, you know, as a representative of the school.

Int.: Then, Card 4, Johnny Adams.

Oh, well, Johnny Adams, uh, well, he's sort of undecided about what he wants, what he really, he's really like, you know. He's got, like a split personality, you know, for he might be there and all of a sudden he might just change, you know, and just act un-normal and he's sort of, he's very sloppy looking, you know. He looks, as it said, it looks like he needed a haircut or a shave or something, and I don't think that'd be too good to send because then he's liable to act like his friends, the beatniks, or something, and I don't know, it might give a good impression to the King, but I don't think so.

Int.: There are a couple of choices involved in this, then. In almost all your choices, you've rather stressed the personal appearance of the people who were to be sent.

Mn, yes ... well, it usually puts a good impression on the person if they see him, they look neat or something.

Int.: That's the other point. You assume, then, that the people who are sent ought to make a good impression.

Yes.

Int.: Why?

Oh, yes, it might, like, like a cover-up, though, for the school or something. I don't think it, I don't know. Usually, the ones that do look best, they have a nice personality sometimes and they can, I don't know. Some did, the ones I picked did, at least.

Int.: If you were describing just any kind of student you wanted to, making out a tenth card, in effect, to be the best possible person to send, what would you put on it?

Oh, um, I think I'd start with their personality and their manners and all that. I'd go ... I don't know, but I figured they would dress, you know, if they, they'd be, they'd dress neat anyway if they did go, so I don't know.

Miss H. chose The Bernstein Sisters, who are described on Card 7 as "crazy in a great way ... always pulling gags on people ... They've got so much talent they can do anything... they're for the school all the way, the real boosters. They're the in-everything girls, cheer-leading, the school paper, debating, the works. They also run everything; they should too, because they get things done..." to be in the King's delegation. Characteristically, our subjects saw the Bernstein Sisters' multifarious activities as "well-roundedness" whereas they saw Scott Cowen or Johnny Adams, who are also described as excelling in several different activities, as willful and self-indulgent. Miss H. sees Johnny as having "like a split personality"; other subjects complained that Scott and Johnny didn't work up to their capacity -- they just did what they themselves thought important, and should be punished for their irresponsibility by exclusion from the delegation. Similarly, our subjects accepted the Bernstein Sisters' pranksomeness as unlikely to lead them to embarrass the King or the school -- they were far too experienced socially for that and would know just how far to go -- whereas Eric, Johnny or Scott could not be trusted to discipline their narcism or hostility. Many subjects saw the sisters as precisely what the King must have meant by "spirited young people".

Subjects who approximated the typical card sort of Table B-4 then wound up without a boy on the delegation; and were asked in their interviews whether they had considered how this might affect the King's understanding of American secondary education. Most stated that they had considered this, and felt that it would have been better to include a boy; but that the available boys were just impossible. It is arguable that this is a bias in our instrument; but five of the nine cards describe boys, and cover a very wide range of masculine adolescent roles. It is true that the set includes no description of the male equivalent of Karen, though such a description with a different name and different pronouns and a little more rugged surface would fit the sort of boy who becomes president of the student council, or the general organization, at many high schools. On the other hand, the prototype of success in American public school is feminine; given the same academic aptitude girls get higher grades than boys when the two sexes are compared. Girls also are far less often subject to disciplinary actions and are hardly ever classed as "troublemakers" except in connection with behavior that requires enthusiastic male co-operation.

So perhaps the bias is in neither the instrument nor the subjects; but in the educational system. What most of our subjects favor is diffuse social skill and adaptability -- "well-roundedness" -- and any kind of personal, specialized competence puts them off, especially if self-directed. It may be argued that they are not picking personal friends; but members of an official delegation. But the story explicitly states that the King is interested "in spirited young people" and that the young people who were to be chosen should express "what was finest and best about the school". It also stipulates that the idea of the visit comes from the King and not from the plans of his hosts to amuse or impress him. There is nothing whatever in the narrative about making a good impression; and even if there were, it seems something less than obvious that such a King would be most impressed by bland, friendly, well-rounded people. Kings, by and large, have less reason than others to assume that it is always best to be average.

In any case, our subjects' preference for well-rounded delegates is stronger than any possible feminist bias they may have. The one girl, Nancy Harris, whom Card 1 describes as having a specialized and autonomous skill as a concert violinist, and as "preferring artistic creation to success with her fellow students" fares worse than either Nicky Galetti or the Jazz Combo -- nobody at all in the entire sample picked her as best. She does not excite as much hostility as Scott and Johnny, to say nothing of Eric; just half the subjects leave her in the middle as neutral. But she certainly is not accepted.

Nicky Galetti, the football player described on Card 8, does a little better but not much. Like Nancy, he is seen as only interested in one thing; he wouldn't know "how to talk to the King". Nearly as many subjects leave him in the middle pile. Nicky is not, of course, presented as a heroic figure; but he is described as a highly competent and reliable athlete, if a rather dull boy, and his poor showing among our subjects seems to us to contradict the prevalent view that high school youngsters worship athletes and athletics. Nicky hardly gets a look-in. Response to the Jazz Combo is virtually identical, both conceptually and statistically. They're not "well-rounded"; they're only interested in what they're interested in.

The most notable characteristic of our subjects throughout their responses to The King's Visit is their hostility to autonomy as a disruptive social force. As most of them see it, self-directive people are untrustworthy, because they are unpredictable; you can't tell what they are going to do next. The Bernstein Sisters are no more untrustworthy than a night-club act, whose blue margins and tinge of insult are predictable and always occur under the same circumstances. But the youngsters who devote themselves to their own inner-life and personal interests -- they might work out very well, but why take chances? Scott and Johnny are further culpable because they are -- it is an ugly word, but to withhold it would be less than candid -- underachievers. The frequency and intensity of our subjects' hostility to them is partially concealed by the even greater rejection incurred by Eric Pratt, Card 2. But Eric Pratt, we believe, is an error in test-design; he is so awful that he contributes little either to the variance or to our insight. He is also the only one of the nine sketches that the subjects occasionally complained was a caricature; and so he is.

What emerges in sum, then, from oursubjects' responses to The King's Visit is strong further evidence of their pragmatism; with new and important elements of hostility to personal autonomy. Intellectual autonomy is worse than other kinds, but most of our subjects express uneasiness in response to any pattern of life that expresses a youngster's specialized devotion to his own ends and inner life, whether in jazz or concert music; sports or literature or basketball or oratory, or -- in the somewhat unconvincing case of Eric Pratt -- good-natured vulgarity. These are not seen as signs of spirit; and those who display these patterns are seldom seen as representative of what is "finest and best about the school".

Again, we should point out that the more individualized youngsters might well have fared better if our subjects had been asked to select the cards as portraits of persons they would like to have as friends, or on any other purely personal basis. But this would have obscured exactly the point we wished to investigate. We wished precisely to find out whether they could respond to youngsters in a school situation with full respect for the vital and human qualities of the youngsters portrayed; or whether they would treat the students described on the cards as things -- instruments to be used for some external purpose derived from their experience of school life and school expectations rather than from the narrative itself.

Most of them did just that. Their pragmatism won out over any spontaneity the narrative might have evoked in them. Again, they set the situation up as a problem to be solved -- "making a good impression on the King". By approaching the episode in this posture, without even perceiving that any other approach might be possible our subjects nullified from the beginning any presumption that the King might be serious in his interests. They set out immediately to provide the King with what Daniel Boorstin calls a "pseudo-event" without considering that he might, as the narrative implied, prefer a real one. Their approach was unredeemed by any trace of irony; few of our subjects questioned whether Karen Clarke was indeed, "the perfect model of what a high school student ought to be"; or whether Elfrieda Eubanks or anyone else could be "so sweet you couldn't help liking her".

To our subjects, their approach was simply a matter of being realistic; and from what we saw of their schools they were being realistic, in the sense that the people they picked would almost certainly have been the ones the school would actually have sent on an actual King's visit, had one taken place. But here we finally approach the heart of our experimental problem and, we suggest, one reason that our results thus far have been so ambiguous.

For it seems clear that the consequences of most of our subjects' choices for The King's Visit are strongly ressentient, whether the subjects are or not. We set up the research instruments on what, at this point, begins to emerge as a naive model of the process by which the school functions in the social transmission of Ressentiment. We had assumed that students subjected to school practices they perceived as ressentient -- without, to be sure, knowing what to call them -- would tend either to become imbued with Ressentiment themselves, or to become anomic and fitfully rebellious. The first we called, hypothetically, Conventional, while the second were expected to fall into our "residual category". Less intense Ressentiment in the social climate of the school we thought would foster the growth of real adolescents on a scale sufficient to constitute a social subgroup in the school, as well as various other clusters, identified by attitudes toward the card-sorts that we could not anticipate but that, as they developed, would denote pluralism in the adolescent society presaging that which a democratic society must later find among its adults if there is to be freedom in it.

What we did not anticipate -- among other things -- was that our subjects would do what most of them did in response to The King's Visit; accept a ressentient environment as a fact of nature and go along with it. The crucial mechanism in this process is apparently their pragmatism. For once they accept a problem-solving posture as natural and self-evident, and respond to every possible situation by defining it as a problem, the ordinary consequence of their intervention in any social situation is to restore it uncritically to its prior state. The problem-solving posture of itself precludes ethical or even ideological analysis or appraisal. The man who says, "There's a job to be done", has already given up his chance to ask himself whether he ought to do it or whether doing it is consistent with the rest of what he does with his life.

Ressentient schools do not, therefore, have to either frighten or seduce our subjects into making choices that express Ressentiment. This is not why the subjects do it; they do it because they cannot conceive of a King who might like Scott Cowen better than Karen Clarke; or who might prefer to spend an evening with someone he found stimulating rather than someone he personally liked; or who might prefer to have his expressed wish to meet "spirited young people" respected even if the young people turned out to be hard to handle in the event. To contribute to Ressentiment it is not necessary for the schools either to make their students ressentient themselves, or to make them afraid not to be. It is sufficient to make them want to co-operate, and to take for granted that school life is an immutable fact of nature, not worth questioning.

Ressentiment can doubtless breed Ressentiment; for people who are treated with disguised, manipulative hostility are likely to treat others more helpless than they that way in turn. But our subjects' responses suggest that the process is not usually quite that direct in high school. The life cycle is slightly more complicated. Ressentiment proceeds through alienation more often than directly; using as its vehicle a youngster who may have little Ressentiment of his own, but who has abdicated, or never assumed, the right and the responsibility for judging the consequences of his choices in the light of his own feelings and sense of life.

This is what usually happens. When it doesn't, the results are likely to sound very different. Take, for example, Mr. B., of Havencrest; a sixteen-year old 11th grader whose father is a contractor, and who has a straight C average -- Havencrest doesn't exactly have tracks. Mr. B. is a football player himself -- like Nicky Galetti, in the line. "There's little glory in the line, what we play; but the backs are what get all that love, you know", he observed philosophically, in one of his comments on The LeMoyen Basketball Team. He seems conventiontional enough, warm and solid, but he places 237th out of 246 from the Grand Average for the day; and 221st for the series. No subject could be less of a wild-man; what makes Mr. B. unusual seems to be little more than the fact that he makes use of his own experience.

For The King's Visit he chose Nicky Galetti as best, and Scott Cowen and the Bernstein Sisters as good. His rejections are quite conventional; Eric Pratt as worst, and Johnny Adams and the Jazz Combo as poor, and for much the usual reasons. But the two favorites, Karen and Elfrieda, he leaves in the middle, which is simply to ignore them perhaps, as one of our prettiest subjects said of Elfrieda, as "simply too sincere to be real".

These are some of his comments:

Int.: The best you thought was Card 8, Nicky Galetti.

Well, I thought Nicky Galetti was best 'cause, in a sense, he's a football player, he works hard, he is really a, seems to be an all-round good guy. I tried to take him as a, coming from the sports point of view, to show the King, I mean, he's a, he's what you call, he's popular, but not in the sense of being a cool guy or something. He's just a hard worker, tries to do his best and I think he'd be the better one to, to have the King meet. I mean, the King is interested to meet young people and things like this. I thought Nicky Galetti would be the best one out of all of them.

Int.: And Card 7.

Well, Mill and Jill Bernstein, they're a couple of good kids. They do a lot of work to help the school and the student body. They help to promote the ball games, all types, and things like, they're always busy in school activities and I thought this would show the King sort of a, how two people could work together and really put out an all-out effort for the school, the school itself.

Int.: Do you know any girls like that? Are there any who function like that around here?

> Yes, sir. There's a lot of girls around here that put a lot of extra time into helping things for the school. A lot of our clubs do.
>
> ....
>
> Int.: Card 9.
>
> Nine. Scott Cohen (sic), I believe this is. He's a, kind of a, there's a boy here at school, he's smart in his studies and all, and he's, tends to act a little, on the outside, and down here they had about his being sloppy in dress and all. If a person is going to meet a King, that wouldn't tend to hurt him any, because he would dress up to do this; but he was a, he's smart and intelligent and knows a, how, I guess by this thing he'd know how to talk and act and he'd kind of show the intelligent side of the school and, my point of view, and I thought he was a good choice in that manner.

Of particular interest, in view of the use we have hitherto made of "helpfulness" as an indication of Ressentiment, is the different ring that Mr. B. gives to this familiar concept. He does so in his references to the Bernstein sisters; but particularly in his unique response to the "blank card" question with which interviews on The King's Visit were terminated. A plurality of subjects said that the cards supplied had covered the possibilities well enough, and that they had nothing to add. Quite often, as in the previously quoted excerpt from Miss H.'s interview, the subject would repeat the criteria he had already applied, in the belief that he was describing someone different from the descriptions in the card-texts. The most common, though still infrequent genuinely different suggestion came from several subjects who complained that none of the nine cards described people who were average enough to be really representative; and that the King should be sent visitors who were truly ordinary. But all these comments and descriptions remained abstract. Mr. B. does something different.

> Int.: Now, if you were making up a card on your own to describe the best person to send, a blank card to begin with that you could put anything on it that you wanted to, how would you describe ... ?
>
> Well, now, I'm really glad you asked that, 'cause there's a boy here at school that really fits, kinda fits my bill for a good person to meet a King. He's on the football team, he's a good football player, he's a pretty good athlete, he's big and he plays tackle. He's, he was on the honor roll last year for the honor society, made A's, B's, he's good in his work, and he's a lot of fun, you know. He's, he says, "Well, I play football and I'm on the honor society" ... that didn't go to his head, he doesn't act like he owns the place, he's just a, he's a good friend to know when, to be with if you need help or something like this. If he can, he goes out of his way to help you. And he seems to be the all around type guy I like. And he's sports, school, social ... all three. Right there's what I think I, best, I'd like for a person to meet a King.
>
> Int.: Is it the kind of thing you think you'd enjoy doing yourself?
>
> What?
>
> Int.: Going on such a delegation?
>
> Yes, sir. I think I would. I'd enjoy meeting somebody like that. In the sense that I've never met a King or anything; but I'd enjoy it probably to meet somebody like this just to see how he talks and acts and ... curiosity mostly.
>
> Int.: Ok. Thanks very much.
>
> You're welcome.

Despite the presence of many themes in common with it, this is just the way Ressentiment does not sound.

F. THE TEACHERS

Our interview sample also included from five to nine teachers at each school, who were seen once, at a session in which they worked through The LeMoyen Dance and The King's Visit just as the student subjects did at their second session. The results are not entirely comparable, because the teachers had not done the first two episodes, and therefore knew a little less about LeMoyen; they did not know specifically that Elfrieda was a Negro, for example. The teachers were in no way a random sample; we drew them by asking our liaison at each school -- usually the director of personnel services or the equivalent-- to select teachers whom he regarded as having substantial influence on basic policy. These officers adopted different bases at different schools. Since the teachers were paid 15 dollars for this session, one counsellor invited only department chairmen, so as not to be blamed for invidious choice. Another loaded the sample with all his own staff, making up about half the teachers seen. Except for this last instance, our impression was that the sample was indeed composed of teachers who might be expected to have a substantial effect on the schools' social climate.

The results of the teacher's card-sorts are presented in Tables B-5 and B-6 below:

TABLE B-5

TEACHERS' CARD-CHOICES FOR THE LEMOYEN DANCE

Card Pile Placement	Best	Good	Neutral	Poor	Worst	GAAP
6-"exclusive social affair"	18	19	13	3	2	1.9
7- "keep unpretentious"	8	26	13	7	1	1.3
1- "more acceptable solution"	12	18	17	7	1	1.3
3- "brawl or rat-race"	5	16	28	4	2	0.8
9- "can get... tired"	4	11	26	9	5	0.0
5- "cracked down"	3	7	18	17	10	-1.0
4- "there is nothing"	0	4	22	22	7	-1.3
8- "suspend the dance"	3	7	12	16	17	-1.4
2- "it is unfortunate"	2	2	16	25	10	-1.6
Sum (N= 55)	55	110	165	110	55	

This array of card-choices points up one fairly striking difference between the approach of our teachers and that of our student subjects. The teachers do tend to approach The LeMoyen Dance with one ideological premise. They are more consistently egalitarian than the students. The cards that either directly support or rationalize the new plan fall lower on their placements. They are also somewhat more punitive; they have less objection than the students to suspending the dance -- though most disfavor this suggestion (Card 8) because it would deprive students of the opportunity to learn from their mistakes. But the position of cards 8 and 2 are reversed; the students are more offended by the threat to their autonomy; the teachers by the suggestion that there is a "kind of 'teen-ager' who does not know how to act at a dance" and should be barred from the dance and thus from any chance of learning. As we interpret these responses, the teacher group therefore shows slightly more Ressentiment than the students. They sound humane, but they value the dance primarily as a learning experience to teach the students social maturity; and are less unwilling to leave it to them for their spontaneous, if possibly unequal, enjoyment.

Thus, Mr. J., Dean of Boys at Ipswich, whose card choices place him closest to the Grand-Average for teachers -- though Ipswich is a private, co-educational boarding school and Mr. J. is British--comments:

> (Card 7): The reason why I put this as the number one card is because I feel the last sentence here is a very good one. Keep the dance down to earth and unpretentious. There are a lot of students in the schools who could not afford to go to a dance if you raised the admission fee to $7.50, obviously, and there are some who could. It might be said that you would keep the unwanted element away from the dance if you raised it to $7.50, but I don't think this would be effective. It is, it would not simply keep the rowdy people away by raising the price of admission simply

> because rowdy people could have the money to pay for the ticket, obviously. On the other hand, efforts should be made, as the last sentence says here, to keep the dance as simple as possible, and unpretentious, and included in that, do something to improve the tempo of the dance and to educate the people who go to the dance before they get there. Not when they get there and throw them out afterwards.

Mr. J. considered Card 1 which also favors a cheaper format, but sends the issue back to the Student Council to devise one, good, but not as good as Card 7, because:

> I don't agree with the latter part of the comment here, that it is their duty, ... that is, the Student Council's duty, I take it?
>
> Int: Yes.
>
> -- to find a more acceptable solution. My reason for saying that is that in a school it is not simply the Student Council which is responsible for matters such as dances; not -- certainly not-- responsible for matters such as behavior at a dance, although they may be the sponsors of the dance. This is the reason I didn't place this as the number one card, because I feel it's not simply the duty of the Student Council, but also the duty of the teachers in that school to find a more acceptable solution, not simply the students'.

But Mr. J. thinks that Card 8 is the worst card:

> "Unfortunately, the Student Council is not the proper body to deal with a situation like that". I think those were the words. It may well be the proper body to deal with a situation like this, provided that they are not entirely held responsible for the behavior of students at a dance. Now, this seems to me, I don't, I don't agree with the statement that the Student Council is not the proper body to get rid of a problem like this. I agree in certain respects that youngsters have to learn to bear the responsibility of their own misconduct.... I don't think by suspending the dance for a year, the students would be taught this kind of thing. The place to teach students their conduct and the way, the manner to teach students of their conduct, is in the school itself, is not by suspending the dance and certainly not by punishing a lot of innocent people.

Teachers' choices for the King's Visit are presented below.

TABLE B-6

TEACHERS' CARD-CHOICES FOR THE KING'S VISIT

Card Pile Placement	Best	Good	Neutral	Poor	Worst	GAPP
6- Karen Clarke	20	17	13	5	0	2.0
3- Elfieda Eubanks	13	25	13	4	0	1.4
7- Bernstein Sisters	8	12	25	10	0	0.7
5- Ronny, Big Joe and Pink	3	13	30	7	2	0.3
1- Nancy Harris	2	16	21	14	2	0.1
8- Nicky Galetti	3	13	19	14	6	-0.3
9- Scott Cowen	3	9	18	21	4	-0.6
4- Johnny Adams	3	3	18	25	6	-1.2
2- Eric Pratt	0	2	8	10	35	-2.9
Sum (N= 55)	55	110	165	110	55	

The rank-order of the distribution is the same, at either end, for both teachers and students. Nevertheless, there are significant differences. Karen is still most popular, but not nearly so popular as she was with the student subjects. And poor Eric Pratt is so thoroughly anathematized as to impair the usefulness of the instrument; he deprives our teachers of the chance to be quite as hostile to Johnny Adams as their comments suggest they would often have liked to be, if they had not had to put Eric in his place.

The shifts in the middle are also rather interesting. Nicky Galetti is even less attractive to the teachers; Nancy and the Jazz Combo are slightly more attractive. What seems to be involved here is that the teachers are at least as opposed to students who "make waves" as their fellow students are. But granted a neat appearance and an amicable disposition, they favor specialized competence to a degree, where the students tend to be put off by it. Nicky, however, fails to win approval because his competence is taken to be almost anti-academic -- he sounds so dumb.

The teachers, then, bring by and large the same values to bear on the problem of The King's Visit that the students do. But they also put more value on academic scholarship and distinction; and they are usually a little less frightened of achievement and even creativity than the students are. At their best, like Mr. U. who teaches social studies superbly at Hartsburgh, they come close to transcending these limits and are extremely constructive within them. Mr. U. places 49th out of 55 from the Grand-Average for teachers.

> Int: Your choice for the best people you'd send would be Ronnie, Big Joe and Pink, the Jazz Combo?
>
> Yes, despite the names given here at the beginning, Ronnie, Big Joe and Pink, which might smack of what?, uh, juvenile delinquence, I don't know whether this was thrown in for that reason, cutting their second platter it says. It seems that they have considerable talents in various areas that, that I think that if a King is genuinely interested in meeting lively, interesting kids, that I would get the impression that he would experience this. These people have a, quite a variety of interests, they are not only interested in a particular type of music which we associate with, what people associate with a particular thing, but... and I don't find anything objectionable, as a matter of fact, but they also have... range quite a spectrum here. One of them can write in a classical mood, composer of the violin sonata that Nancy Harris, something that one of the students is going to play at graduation, he's contributing to a student... to a somewhat in the school group, a, a fellow student. Another one organized the Combo, writes the lyrics, something like the Kingston Trio, but still they're different... um, they seem to have ... one of them's going to a music school, scholarship, the only Negro to be elected President of the school Honor Society, ... seems to me they would a lot of, well, quite a variety of impressions that they would give the King, and since they are involved in so many different activities, I would get the impression that this experience could very well be a two-way kind of situation, that they in turn would be exposed to something outside of that which they had immediately experienced, and would benefit them. And since they seem to get along with so many other people, that they would probably convey some of their experiences to others in the school.
>
> Int: So that there would be beneficial communication here.
>
> To both, I would think. Yes, I would think so.
>
> Int: Then, the Bernstein sisters.
>
> Well, of course, first of all I chose groups in preference, because there's more people involvement rather than individual involvement. My first thought, before I'd even looked at the cards, is that unless there was something operating against it, that I would probably choose groups anyway, because there's involvement of more people, more impressions, more experiences involved, which in turn would have an effect upon more people in the school. So my first choices would be groups. But I probably would have also included, I was thinking, I would probably choose two groups and an individual. An individual operates in a slightly different... if it's going to be individual interviews, group or individual, that the King and this individual would have... might have a different kind of experience, and I

would prefer also someone who was sociable, who would be able to exchange this experience with a greater variety than with no one at all. Some of them seem to imply that these people are rather reserved, the experience might be good for them, but if they're reserved the chances are they'd probably be reserved in this, all their antennae and feelings would not be out in this kind of communication with the King, so they probably would have much less, if anything, to relate back to their group. So I was thinking in terms of the entire group and what would be the greatest involvement and experience for the greatest number. That's why I chose these, and these people seem to measure up to that particular criteria. They're organizers, chairmen, outgoing, variety of experience, they've got so much talent they can do anything and almost do; I'm assuming that the, these writeups are accurate in their description.

Int: Yes, but also more or less from the point of view in each case of an enthusiast for this particular sort of thing.

And an enthusiast for this particular sort of person, yes. But these are not withdrawn people, these are people who are involved in the world.

Int: Yes.

And I have a bias for people who are involved in the world in a constructive sense, and I get the impression that these people are all involved in a constructive way.

Int: Then Card 9, Scott Cowen.

Well, I wanted to select one individual. Apparently he's an extremely bright individual, he also is involved in a number of things, chess-player, editor, I'm impressed by the fact that his work is always original, so it's sloppy ... he's sloppy in the way he dressed. I don't know that that... I get the feeling that this might be placed in here to prevent someone who's terribly concerned about the appearance that is given to someone in importance, whether he's making just the right impression and so on and so on, so I'm afraid that I threw that out, because I don't know that that's particularly important. But if the King is any kind of individual in his own right, which seems to be suggested, if he's interested in spirited youngsters, assuming that... well, I'm assuming a lot of things... that he probably, so he manages to argue with some of his teachers, which suggests that he doesn't take all of the pap that may be thrown at him, and perhaps thinks on his own, thinks for himself, and if the King is this kind of person which is suggested here, again, I would assume that he would probably... and again, enjoy this, get something out of it, and so would this lad, who might give a rather original statement of his experiences with the King. He would not necessarily be confined to a conventional reportorial job, but he might be able to convey to his associates a point of view that was different from these people, something original, something different, something... an insight that he had been able to get.

Int: Then the worst, from your point of view, is the football player, Nicky Galetti.

Well, he's a great team man, hard working a loyal, and never an angry word. As far as I can see Nicky may be a very charming individual. This card doesn't suggest anything more than having just one particular talent, and that is in the area of football. Well, he's a great team man, hard-working and loyal, but never an angry word... sounds terribly conformist. I, I get the impression of a very very pleasant chap, but if the King is looking for something stimulating, that he's not going to get with Nicky, and Nicky is going to come back and perhaps say nothing, and nothing here suggests that Nicky is very articulate or Nicky is anything more than just a vacuum, I mean, there's nothing in here that suggests that. So he's loyal, hardworking, a great team man, but...

... if I were the King, I, I... obviously I have to put myself into this. If I

> were the King, and assuming this is the King, and he's interested in kids who are alive, vital, Nicky doesn't give me the impression that I, that there wouldn't be much of a two-way or three-way or very much of a way kind of rapport here.
>
> Int: Right. Now Nancy Harris. I take it this is part of what you were commenting on with reference to the isolating individual with comparatively few....
>
> Yes. The schedule does not allow here much opportunity for social activity. Too bad, she's attractive.. so she's attractive, she looks good. With a little effort she could be popular, very very popular, but apparently she hasn't made the effort. She appears to be somewhat withdrawn. If she's withdrawn, again, there's this lack of communication and pretty much the same kind of thing as with Nicky, although obviously she's got considerable more talents than Nicky. Well, she's got... well, again, she's... well, she's a good student, but that seems to simply suggest that she may be a plugger... keeps her course work up while she's practicing three or four hours a day. She seems too with... too withdrawn as far as I'm concerned. She would be less stimulating if I were the one that were talking to her, and if the King is looking for that sort of thing I would think that this would be least, oh, not desirable for him, and again, the same idea, I don't know what she would relate, she isn't very social, she's not inclined to communicate with her colleagues.
>
> Int: Then Elfrieda you wouldn't send (Card 3).
>
> Yes, now what was my reason here? Oh, yes, Elfrieda Eubanks is so sweet, this emphasis on this "so sweet", saccharinely sweet, that you couldn't help liking her. I don't know, I don't like them so sweet myself. But everyone at LeMoyen does. President of the Girl's Athletic Association, sure thing for the Chamber of Commerce best all-around girl award, tall, slender, graceful, beautiful voice, well, she's got a lot of... she's always smiling, always a good guy, no matter what. I don't know why, why did I choose this one...
>
> Int: I wonder if there's any more to it than you've already said. That she is *so sweet*.
>
> Well, perhaps, but I think that I reacted to that "so sweet" but I see that she apparently is quite a social creature, although always, always smiling, always a good guy, the emphasis... she dances beautifully, she's too... I think perhaps that's the reason, although there's a ... well, I think that's probably the reason that I, that I pushed it.

If the teachers show somewhat more *Ressentiment* than the student subjects in their response to *The LeMoyen Dance*, they show little less in selecting candidates for *The King's Visit:* they are less impatient of distinction and less easily "conned" by a "well-rounded" exterior; a little more willing to take a chance. On the other hand, they create a considerable *ressentient* press just by what they do for their own comfort and convenience. The school is their workshop; the students are the materials they work with, and materials must be kept in order. One example may perhaps suffice for many. Mr. H. of Milgrim, a shy, friendly, lower status youngster whose interview on the last episode, *Alan Slade and His Friends* is quoted below *in extenso*, handed the interviewer the pass he had been given for his final interview at the end of that interview. So far as the study was concerned, the pass was no longer needed since Mr. H. had completed his work with us. The interviewer therefore asked what Mr. H. wanted him to do -- endorse it, so that he could return to class, or what. "No", he replied; he was having his ears tested in the same suite in which the interview had taken place, and the nurse would issue him the pass he needed. But, he added, without any resentment at all, "Well, if the teachers catch you walking around here with a pass that's already been used, uh, they might get a little mad at you. So the best thing to do is always to give it to a teacher and let him dispose of it. It's the safest".

Sometimes the caution is subtler. Miss S. the elderly social studies teacher at Delphi who ranks 32nd out of 55 teachers and who is herself as sweet, if not sweeter, than Elfrieda Eubanks, selected Johnny Adams as the worst candidate for the King's Visitor-- even worse than Eric Pratt. In explaining her choice, she observed:

> Oh, I like Johnny Adams, I, I, I liked him very much, he appeals to me a great deal. But I didn't think he was the best (she thought Elfrieda was). I

> thought he was very interesting, but I did not think he was, er, representative enough, er, and perhaps, er, while interesting to me, er was, er, didn't represent a large enough group within the school.
>
> Int: He would be too idiosyncratic--
>
> Right, he needs some, he may be the best one in the long run of the whole lot, I mean in... in, as far as life's concerned because he's, has quite a, he shows evidences of, er, exploring himself... he had great ability, he had many gifts, er, he had drive, and I want to meet him about four years later, maybe six.

If most of Johnny Adams teachers and fellow students feel the same way about him, as our results suggest they do; those four to six years are not very likely to lead to the developments Miss S. would await. Her attitude may represent merely administrative prudence; but if this is not Ressentiment, it might, so far as Johnny is concerned, as well be.

G. EPISODE V - MISS POST'S ENGLISH ASSIGNMENT

In their last session, the two episodes our subjects dealt with were Miss Post's English Assignment and Alan Slade and His Friends. The first of these, which is fifth in the entire series, presents a set of nine love-poems that our subjects are asked to consider as possible poems to be submitted to an English teacher as examples of what love means to them. The teacher, Miss Post, is described in the accompanying essay as a nearly perfect example of the best sort of old-fashioned school teacher; a figure which recurs as a minor theme in the American dream. The subjects are asked, that is, first to select poems congruent with their idea of love; then to trust the taste and discretion of this sensitive and experienced teacher.

Perhaps the most revealing responses elicited by Miss Post's English Assignment were made by most of our subjects before they even sorted the cards. This episode, alone of the six, produced rather widespread embarrassment. Our subjects frequently said that they disliked poetry and did not understand it; it made them uneasy. They did not respond in this way to the story of Alan Slade and his Friends, which, as will be seen, refers to elements that seem far more likely than the few verses in Miss Post's English Assignment to arouse anxiety. Nor did they actually have any difficulty handling the task when they actually undertook it; most of our subjects showed consistent, if often atrocious, poetic taste. But it seems clear that our sample had been rather generally subjected to social influences hostile to poetry per se that made them afraid to handle it.

Perhaps more significant was our subjects' virtually universal response to the story itself as irrelevant. Since they were being asked to select poems that expressed what love meant to them, what difference did it make what the English teacher was like personally? A few were indignant at the idea that they might alter their preferences in order to ingratiate themselves with Miss Post. We had intended to suggest, rather, that Miss Post presented a good opportunity to communicate real feelings to an elder competent to respect them. But only Mr. A., a 17-year old 12th grader at the sectarian boarding school, Ipswich, whose parents are both physicians, expressed any such thought. His opening comment in this interview is:

> Uh, Miss Post would appear to me to be the type of woman who isn't as old as her age might infer; I mean, she isn't old-fashioned, but is more of a type of woman who is outward and outgoing, an, uh, she seems like a very open-minded person; and I happen to like this kind of poetry... it's more of a love of feeling, and I think that she would be able to accept this, as I see it... respect my thoughts as I respect hers.

Mr. A. is not exactly typical. He places 236th out of 245 from the Grand Average for the day, and 243rd out of 245 for the series as a whole. Despite his high status and B average he is widely regarded as a troublemaker, less by what he does than by what he is: a handsome, commanding boy whose habitual rough dress and quiet speech emphasize an erotic presence that teachers and administrators seem to find disturbing. Minds innocent and quiet, by contrast, are likely to take pleasure from the way Mr. A. manifests himself.

These observations apply generally to our subjects, without reference to their card-choices for Miss Post's English Assignment, which are now presented in Table B-7.

TABLE B-7

SUBJECTS' SELECTIONS OF POEMS FOR MISS POST'S ENGLISH ASSIGNMENT

Card Pile Placement	Best	Good	Neutral	Poor	Worst	GAPP	Sigma
2- True love's the gift (Scott-The Lay of the Last Minstrel)	77	77	76	12	3	1.9	2.0
6- He prayeth best (Coleridge - The Ancient Mariner)	49	77	89	23	7	1.2	2.2
3- No man is an island (The popular ballad; a paraphrase on a Devotion by Donne).	37	100	65	31	12	1.1	2.3
8- There is pleasure (Byron-Childe Harold, Canto IV)	19	69	87	61	9	0.2	2.3
1- Yet in herself she (James Russell Lowell- To Love)	23	39	122	49	12	0.1	2.1
7- Breathes there the man (Scott - The Lay of the Last Minstrel)	9	50	83	81	22	-0.5	2.3
9- Ah, love, let us be true (Arnold - Dover Beach)	12	35	67	88	43	-1.1	2.4
5- When our two souls (E. B. Browning - Sonnets from the Portugese)	12	21	94	74	44	-1.1	2.1
4- No thorns go as deep (Swinburne-Dolores)	7	22	52	71	93	-1.9	2.0
Sum (N= 245)	245	490	735	490	245		

Generally speaking, Cards 1, 3, 6, and 7 seem, in this context, to express Ressentiment (though Card 7 need not if it were considered a straightforward patriotic statement rather than a love poem); while cards 4 and 5 are clearly non-ressentient; Cards 2, 8, or 9 might be used to express Ressentiment or not, depending on what the subjects chose to say about them. Infact, our subjects responses to Miss Post's English Assignment seem more often clearly ressentient than do their responses to the first four episodes.

Here, as in responding to The King's Visit, they do show Ressentiment. But again, the Ressentiment seems to be an indirect and possibly misleading consequence of the operation of another factor--not, in this case, pragmatism, however. Miss Post is the one situation in the series our subjects, as has been noted, do not treat as a problem. They do not use the information they are given about her in order to figure out choices that would please her, or "make a good impression". Perhaps they are less willing to do this in a situation in which the object of their impression is defined as personally known to them: perhaps they are unwilling to do what would be necessary to make a good impression on somebody who, like Miss Post, is supposed to demand emotional authenticity-- this would mean "getting too involved". But they are not pragmatic about Miss Post's English Assignment. Instead, they are sentimental.

Since Ressentiment is essentially sentimental, their card choices appear ressentient.

But only the students from St. Elmo's tend to show Ressentiment explicitly in their comments. For the subjects as a whole, their preference for the selections from The Lay of the Last Minstrel, The Rime of the Ancient Mariner, and the hymnlike No Man is An Island (Not from the Donne devotion, but the song) seems to express rather a wish to express their conviction that love is innocent and sweet, and to attest to God's exceptionally favorable public image. Our subjects are attracted by the denial of aggressive sexual intent in the Scott selection-- "it is not fantasy's hot fire"-- and by the assertion that God is the source of love, which reverberates through their reasons for favoring all three of these preferred cards.

The most ressentient card, 1, which depicts James Russell Lowell's particularly fussy conception of mother-love is usually either left in the middle as trivial or treated as poor -- it is too "busy". And the three cards that are most often rejected: the Dover Beach stanza, the Elizabeth Browning couplet, and the Swinburne stanza, are, in various ways, simply too mature for our subjects. Poems 9 and 4 are rejected because they are uncheerful; and 4, particularly, is ironical into the bargain rather than self-pitying. An adolescent who likes "Leader of the Pack" ought to be able, by stretching, to accommodate herself to Dover Beach; but Swinburne's self-mockery is altogether too frightening for most.

But our subjects prefer love to be expressed sweetly and innocently. The Browning couplet is not uncheerful; but it is too brief; it comes on too quickly and the reader senses that the lovers may be going to actually do something. Our subjects repeatedly insisted that they just didn't understand it.

The cards we regard as expressing least Ressentiment are therefore rejected, not because the subjects feel Ressentiment, but for reasons that are not altogether independent, either. For we code these poems as anti-ressentient because they are direct, expressive, and emotionally more complete than the sweet poems; they face and include love's hostile component. And even though our subjects may not be fully ressentient, they are too often alienated from their less agreeable feelings to be able to accept any hostility as a component of love. Thus, as Miss J. of Hartsburgh, the 15-year old student leader previously quoted states with reference to Poem 4, her choice as worst of the nine:

> Well, um, well love could never be something that is bad, because if it was there wouldn't be as much of it in the world as there is. And, well, if love wasn't good it wouldn't be here, and, well, it just wouldn't be here if it wasn't good, and people wouldn't respect it if it wasn't good; and they're always talking about 'love your brother', and if you couldn't, if it wasn't good, you couldn't love him.

For some of our subjects, who respond to poetry with real feelings, even these familiar verses arouse responses that are not at all stereotypical, even though composed of ideas which others have often used bathetically. Thus Mr. A. of Martingale, a 17-year old orphaned 12th grader with a C average, whose favorite poet is Robert Frost:

> Int: The best, you thought, was Card 6. Would you tell us why you picked this one?
>
> I picked this one because it tells of... the love God has for man, and the love He gave to man. I think this... special illustrates love because, er, He loveth all, He never has no choice... He gave us all the love that He had. And I think that, er, the love that He gave us is, is really right, it's strong kind of love because God loved us all and He gave us all the love for one another... that's why I think that, er, that's the greatest love....
>
> Int: And then card 3.
>
> I chose this card... I think it's another one because it says that man's love for each other... I think that, er, love is the, er... God loves us all and he loves all men. And I think that all men should love each other, as a friend and as a brother. And it shows that no man stands alone, which is the truth; but we love, er... every man should love his fellow men as a friend. No man should never be.. er, stay alone by himself....
>
> Int: Then Card 4?
>
> Well, this tells er, love as marriage and death. And I think that, er... I'll go back to the story in Adam and Eve, and they tell us, er, that was a form

of love... I think that when a man marries and takes on a mate that's really the kind of love that God g-gave down to us. And since death came in time to revive (word lost) well, that's another form of love because, er, it's all in life and you just can go back to the story of, that God has handed down to us about that...

Int: Then the worst card, Card 9.

This, er, tells of armies clashing, and I just think that this is not a form of love, because man loves one another and his friends, and as a brother, and as a neighbor. There shouldn't be no quarrels, there shouldn't be no fighting and airplanes crashing, armies clashing by night. This is not a part of love, this is a, this is a form of greed and hatred.

Int: Yes.

And God never told us to do that, He always told us to love one another...

Int: Just as a matter of curiosity, more or less, I wonder where, when you would date that poem, and when you suppose it was written?

It appears to me as in the Civil War because its, its, to me it seems like it would be the Civil War because, er... let's se... it seems like it could be the Civil War... It gives me, it gives me the idea of the Civil War because it says that, of, er, men fighting by night, of a great struggle, it seems to me like a... you know, fighting against one another. To me it seems to be the Civil War...

Int: Then Card 7.

Well, this tells of a man whose soul is so dead. And I don't think this is no kind of... because I think every man has some... sort of love.... this is really a, tells the story of a man that... he's like a, a miser... Now this is no form of love, but the soul seems to be just darkened... that's all, dark room, shadow, corners. That sort of love, I think, is not too good.

Int: And then Card 8.

Er, I feel, er, man's love of nature, he loves nature, but I think that he loves nature just as much as loves man. And it's not, I mean, I don't see how he can say this... he loves nature, every, I think every man... looks at nature, he loves it... he loves scenery, he loves animals. He loves one another just as much as he loves man, I think he doesn't... he's not in love with nature more. I think that it's all equally balanced, I don't think that this is right, it's not right love.

Mr. A. is neither conventional nor highly eccentric in his card-choices; he falls in the middle half of our distribution. What is unusual about him is less his card-choices than his evident involvement in the task and with the poetry-- even the poems he misinterprets he treats as real poems.

H. EPISODE VI -- ALAN SLADE AND HIS FRIENDS

In the final episode of our series, Johnny Barto returns, having advanced in status from a mere "troublemaker" to something approaching a tragic hero. Our subjects' responses to this episode seem to us extraordinarily interesting because, for the first time, they approach the material from a rather consistent moral position. They tend to be no less pragmatic than before; but this time they have strong moral feelings about the problem to be solved.

To understand this, it is essential that the reader turn at this point to the story of Alan Slade and His Friends in Appendix B; for this episode is so complex and leaves so much to implication that the issues it presents cannot be inferred from the cards presented. Parenthetically, it is of some interest that none of our subjects complained of any difficulty in reading this long, involved statement; and none proved to have found it unintelligible in the interview, although most missed some of the subtler implications in interpreting it. In our experience, even adolescents of apparently rather limited literacy can read well enough if paid to do it and treated with some respect in the process.

The subjects' card-choices for Alan Slade and His Friends are presented in the following table:

TABLE B-8

SUBJECTS' CARD CHOICES FOR ALAN SLADE AND HIS FRIENDS

Card Pile Placement	Best	Good	Neutral	Poor	Worst	GAPP	Sigma
2- Co-operate with school	106	88	42	6	3	2.5	1.8
1- Bad off as...	29	119	65	27	5	1.3	2.0
6- ... right track..	41	94	61	41	8	1.1	2.3
3- Neurotic parents...	11	49	114	49	22	-0.2	2.2
9- The most hopeful...	21	40	98	67	19	-0.2	2.3
8- The most remarkable...	8	39	130	48	20	-0.3	2.0
4- At the heart of...	9	34	110	73	19	-0.6	2.1
7- Invasion of privacy	20	19	64	87	55	-1.3	2.4
5- ... young punks...	0	8	51	92	94	-2.4	1.7
Sum (N= 245)	245	490	735	490	245		

We had intended to load cards 1, 2, 5, 6, and 8 with Ressentiment. Cards 4, 7, and 9 express an anti-ressentient attitude. Our interpretation of Card 5 as expressing Ressentiment is contestable on the grounds that its brutal hostility is directly rather than covertly expressed; but we judge this to be more than counterbalanced by the helplessness of the putative victims--those who are free of Ressentiment pick on people their own size. Card 3 is intended to represent a kind of fatuous pseudo-intellectuality, useful in rationalizing a ressentient response to the situation though not in itself highly ressentient. In responding to this episode, our subjects demonstrated once again that such Ressentiment as they exhibit -- and Alan Slade evoked a lot of it -- is compounded with other factors. But where, in their response to the preceding episodes, the most important of these factors was pragmatism -- a willingness to do whatever would solve the problem presented, whether ressentient or not-- in responding to Alan Slade and His Friends our subjects reveal that this pragmatism does, in fact, express an underlying moral position.

Our subjects do not merely select Card 2,[8] which says that the situation shows how important it is that parents co-operate with the school, because this is the point of view that is least likely to result in conflict. They endorse the statement as a moral imperative. Only two other cards in the entire series of 54 are more popular than this; the card selecting Karen Clarke as a King's visitor (GAPP=2.57) and that in The Clarke-Barto Incident recommending that Johnny's case be referred to the school psychologist. (GAPP=2.55). To two decimal places, the "co-operate" card for Alan Slade scores a GAPP of 2.52.

But, again, as in responding to The Clarke-Barto Incident, it is Mr. Blakely's intent to be helpful that legitimates his intervention. As Table B-8 shows, the "young punks" card which justifies Mr. Blakely's action on grounds of pure moralistic hatefulness is one of the least popular cards in the series. Next to it in unpopularity is the card that calls Mr. Blakely's action an invasion of privacy. The point is that Mr. Blakely is just doing his job, and not being destructive at all; and since he is just doing his job the Slades are obligated to co-operate with him.

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[8] The card in its entirety reads: The attitude of Alan's parents illustrates how necessary it is that parents cooperate with the school, if as much as possible is to be done for students when they need help. In a world as interdependent as ours, the individual must cooperate with the legitimate institutions of society if progress is to be made.

The Slades come off badly on the whole. They do not excite marked hostility, but they are usually dismissed as flawed. Particularly striking to us is our subjects' refusal to see them as loving parents, though we had thought to clue this interpretation into the narrative clearly. Our subjects tend rather to see them as defensive and punitive, angry at Blakely because his view of their son stigmatizes them as bad parents, not because they see him as having harmed Alan. Moreover -- and despite the naively positive attitude toward counselling and psychotherapy they displayed both in their responses to The Clarke-Barto Incident and to Mr. Blakely's efforts to help Alan, -- our subjects make frequent use of Mrs. Slade's observation that their family psychoanalyst "has kept our marriage going for twenty years" as evidence that the Slades are unfit parents. We had included this reference for two reasons: to make it clear that the Slade's opposition to Blakely's interference does not result from fear or hostility toward psychoanalysis in general, and to clarify the status element in the Slade's attitude toward Blakely, since Mrs. Slade's remark would be fairly likely to shock him. But, again, we were defeated by our subjects' lack of irony.

What seems most extraordinary in our subjects whole set of responses is that their pragmatism does not lead them to evaluate Mr. Blakely's behavior in terms of its consequences. They continue to try to treat the episode as a problem to be solved, and often complain that the episode does not make clear what the problem is. But they seldom notice that whatever it is, Mr. Blakely's efforts have not averted a serious mess and may well have contributed to the cause of one. Nor do they take this into account in mitigating their judgment that the Slades ought to co-operate with him -- at least to the point of listening without anger to what he has to recommend.

We made the story ambiguous partly to improve its projective character; partly to reduce its possible offensiveness; but chiefly to see whether our subjects would be deterred from intervention by the fact that the story did not, indeed, make it quite clear what they were intervening in. But they seldom were. The very subjects who most stressed the Slade's obligation to co-operate often expressed most bewilderment at just what was supposed to be wrong with Alan. Other subjects handled this source of confusion by interpreting the sequence of events in the story so as to modify the time sequence, which is explicit but deliberately presented out of chronological order. Such subjects would infer that Mr. Blakely had called Alan in because his grades were falling -- though the story states that Monica consulted Mr. Blakely "before anyone else had even noticed" Alan's need for help; and Mrs. Slade asserts that Alan's education seemed to be going pretty well by Blakely's own account until Blakely called him in. It also states that "Alan's grades are leveling off at a point well above passing", thus implying that Alan falls outside any objective academic category that could be used to justify Blakely's intervention.

Nearly all these points are illustrated in the comments of Mr. H. of Milgrim, a 16-year old 11th grader in an academic track, with a B-average. Mr. H., whose father works for the sanitation department, lives with his aunt; he is a soft-spoken, well-mannered but apparently shy boy whose conduct merits higher status than he has. He places 12th from the Grand Average for the day; 10th for the whole series.

Mr. H.'s interview on Alan Slade and His Friends also illustrates, in his responses to Card 4, a fairly frequent phenomenon, especially among lower-status respondents, which contributed inestimably to our statistical difficulties. We have called it P. E., or "peasant error", because it reminds us of the difficulties sometimes caused by very naive, rural theatergoers-- at least, in the past, when there were such, -- who leapt on stage to defend the heroine against the villain. They had no trouble at all understanding the plot of what was going on, but they did have difficulty accepting the frame of reference in which it was portrayed. P. E., which affects only negative pile-placement of cards, occurs when a subject places a card which itself criticizes a position of which he strongly disapproves among the negative cards when he actually agrees with what it says, simply because he feels negative about its topic.

Int: Your choice of the best card is number 2.

> Well, I think it is very necessary for the parents to co-operate with the school because the, the boy apparently has something the matter with him and the school should be able to get the parents' cooperation in the case. It shouldn't be just a case of, uh, finding out about it as, as we hear so much of, that the parents know that something's the matter with the boy but they, they either are too democratic with him or just completely, uh, don't do anything about it. I think, uh, the statement here, "In a world as independent as ours, the individual must cooperate with

the legitimate institutions." I think that covers it pretty well, that they should, if the school tells them, they should look into it, even if it doesn't seem to, if they don't think it's true, they should still look into it.

Int: And then, Card 1.

Well, um, this, this the reason I believe, is good too, I can't exactly say it's true, but, uh, he seems to not want to have anybody to help him. He, he's worrying about himself and, uh, he just doesn't go into his counsellor, when he goes into the counsellor and the counsellor is having discussions with his parents, he won't say anything to his parents; he doesn't say anything to the counsellor. He just sits there which is a basically wrong attitude, inasfar as he'll never get anything done. They won't be able to tell, actually, what's the root of his troubles.

Int: Yes, and Card 6.

Well, I think the school should have more resources to back up this card. The, uh, the dean seems to be on the right track trying to help the boy but there's nothing he can do very much about it except call it to the people's, uh, Alan's uh, parents' attention, which I think is wrong. If there is something with the boy, they should be able to help him in some way, suggesting the, uh, standard procedure to go through instead of letting the parents know and either have the parents neglect to do their, uh, just not do it. Some parents might be too poor to be able to do it for the boy.

Int: When you say, then, the thing that really enthused you on this is the suggestion that services be provided rather than the comment that Mr. Blakely is on the right track, or is it both?

Well, um, it's, as far as I can see, they do need service and it seems to me, I do think that, uh, Mr. Blakely is on the right track but he needs the, he needs, first of all, to keep going. He needs the provisions.

Int: Yes, something to back him up in his work.

Yes.

Int: Yes. Then the worst card was Card 5.

Well, this I cannot see as a solution to it. Mr. Blakely, uh, goes as far as sending, getting one boy, I don't know if it was kicked out of school, but, I suppose it was, and the other one, he, uh, tries to help. Well, the, kicking out both, both of the boys is, is uh, apparently if, its, the reason is that its no good. They should try to help, uh, well, as we know, Johnny Barto is a troublemaker. He should have been, he should and was kicked out, but, uh, kicking out the both of the boys when one boy has a problem, just, it's just like, uh, throwing away half of a person's life.

Int: But you see no objection to Johnny being kicked out?

No, as far as I can see, he has no psychological problem. It's just his matter of being, uh, insolent to most authority.

Int: And you have reason to believe that Alan has a psychological problem?

Yes, I think so from, uh, the reasons they gave before of his being so very competent in school, of his ability in school. All of a sudden, a complete drop like this. There must be some sort of factor behind it.

Int: As you interpret it, then, the drop came before he was called in for counselling, that is, he was called in on account of this drop?

Yes.

Int: But the parents say this is not so.

Well, in, uh, I don't know if I'm true but, uh, just assuming I'd suppose the parents haven't had that much of a, uh, shall we say part of his outside life and besides the home life. I mean, what he does other than, other than the home, I, I don't think they'd know that much about it.

Int: Then Card 4.

Well, um, I don't believe in this at all, uh. Teach, the, uh, principal shouldn't go along with anything on the basis of, uh, class prejudice, no matter what the boy is. Even if it was the opposite, in this case, that Johnny Barto was the one with the psychological trouble and he had to kick out the other boy. No matter of his, uh, high ability in class, he should have done it. It, I can't see, uh, any reason for just kicking out one boy if, uh, the boy does have the problem, any psychological problem and leaving the other one in there. I don't think at all, the, uh, principal is from what reason went along with this idea of class prejudice.

Int: Yes, but you're saying now that you disapprove of class prejudice. Uh, ...

Well, uh, I don't exactly mean exactly social prejudice. It's, I guess it's more like the, the attitude, the, the teacher is more like the, acting on the attitude not, if, uh, if Alan could have been in Johnny's place, could have had this same, uh, been in the same high class, you might say, and, Johnny would have been the one with the problem and would have been in the lower class, still, no matter of the class, I think the teacher should have done something to help, uh, whichever one...

Int: But the, in, this, the card is really about what is actually said to have happened though, as regardless of what Mr. Blakely did, when you reject the card, you're saying that you don't think he did do it for this reason.

No, that's true, I don't.

Int: Then Card 7 you didn't like?

Well, uh, I don't see anything in here, really, that I do agree with; he's al-, it says he's allowing himself to be influenced by one student and I don't think he is. He's just trying to be a counsellor and trying to help the boy in the way of showing his parents what's the matter with the boy and, uh, breaking up a private friendship, I don't think, its that serious, but it's affecting Alan very much so if it, that friendship, it'd be to break up the friendship than to, um, lose the boy completely, you might say to a so-called, uh, very, uh, personal state of just keeping to himself, the ways things were going.

Int: Now, again, you're assuming, uh, that the break-up of the friendship came later?

Yes.

Int: Is there anything, uh, of an overall kind you would care to add about this?

No, I don't think so.

Int: Okay, thanks very much.

Mr. H. is a thoroughly decent, attractive, gentle boy; who has been very effectively socialized. His interview is highly representative; but for readers interested in meeting spirited young people, a little sad to close on. There is a minority position, expressed movingly, if somewhat self-consciously, by the redoubtable Mr. A. of Ipswich, whose comment on Miss Post has already been quoted. We take comfort from Mr. A.; but we do not forget that he ranks 243rd out of 245 in distance from the central position.

Int: Then turning to your card choices for the Alan Slade incident, the best card you thought was Card 7.

Uh, yes, this, I think, it was, Mr. Blakely was uh, at fault along with the young lady, because he listened to her and took action in a very vague manner. It wasn't fair at all, and uh, he has used his office to, not only break up a friendship, but in attempts to help, quote unquote, has uh merely brought him in there, had him sit down, and then they sit there waiting for an unknown resistance to break, and uh, Mr. Blakely, uh, has wanted Alan to tell him, uh, what his problem is, and has wanted him to tell him not, not exactly, but I mean through what he says Mr. Blakely will be able to perhaps find out what his problem is. But uh, at this point it's none of his business, and people like this have no right to think that they can help when all they do is sit there and make vague inferences to the fact that 'Son, you're crazy, you're out of your mind.' I mean, uh, in my opinion the boy would have had every right in the world to stand up and punch him right in the mouth, and uh, it's just none of his business, to, to try and break up a friendship, fine. No matter how long the world exists, parents are going to try and do this, between boys and boys, girls and girls, or boys and girls-- a friendship, an affair, something of this type, and years and years and years, are never going to learn that they can't do it. People learn by mistakes, they learn by experience, and they just will not learn this, and Mr. Blakely has not learned it either. If it weren't for the fact of his, of his 'Dean-ship' he might learn a little faster, but uh, I don't know-- he hasn't learned it yet.

Int: Then Card 9 is one of the cards that you thought was better.

Uh, his parents, uh, care for him, I think, basically, and I think that they also feel that Mr. Blakely has done a grave injustice to him and has butted in on his privacy, and has listened to a, a girl who is a, I guess you could call her a busybody. And uh, they don't respect this, which is, I feel, natural, would be a natural reaction for a, a majority of parents. And uh, I think when they said, "No, our son doesn't need psychiatric help right now, and we don't want you to get it for us", I think it was a good thing, and I think they should consult their own psychoanalysist, and uh, should have him look into the problem, because I think a good deal of the problem was, was um, basic, uh, a misconception or a, a feeling of pity or something, and uh, that Mr. Blakely through his vagueness doesn't help this at all.

Int: Yes. What do you think was the precipitating cause of the immediate crisis for Alan? His, his inner state at the time of ...

Uh, I don't know, he just, I think he reached a certain point where he couldn't take it. I mean there, they're people. I don't know if this specifically applies to Alan, but there are people that can go on and on and on, and stay one jump ahead of their loneliness through their, their pseudo-happiness. They can do this, but just once- they miss - and their unhappiness catches up with them, it's dumped on them, and it's too much sometimes, they can't take it, and something like this I think happened to Alan. I mean it was, he tried to stay ahead, missed, and everything that he'd been jumping ahead of caught up with him, and then he let his work slide, and to, to think about it, to try and figure himself out, at that point, I feel..

Int: Then Card 4 you thought was a fairly good card.

I thought it was that uh the best out of the remaining seven, but I don't think it would be or is as good as I would like it to be. I feel that, well, this isn't the heart of Mr. Blakely's attitude, the middle class prejudice, but I feel that if Johnny were on a social level uh, that of the, Slades, there might be a completely different attitude on the part of the parents and the girl and Mr. Blakely. And uh....

Int: In what way would the parents' attitude be different?

Well, the parents' attitude would not, the mother's especially, would not be one of suspicion that this little boy is poor, he's a dirty little boy, I don't want him to give my little boy the wrong idea, but if he were dressed in neat, clean clothes, had a haircut, a shave, cleaned his fingernails all the time, uh, and was always working, there might be a different idea, a different attitude towards the whole thing. But uh, well, this again brings out the fact that people make their own choice of friends, and, and that no matter how hard other people try to uh, break these friendships up, it is just short of impossible. And uh, they, they won't realize this, and a lot of, well, not a lot of but some of the friendships that I have known about have been broken up because one boy was the son of a doctor who, and that the father made about seventy thousand dollars a year, very rich boy, and one of his best friends was a little colored boy that lived on the other side of town, that lived in a, in a signboard shack. There's a feeling between two people that can't be broken, and uh, if this...

Int: Did this survive?

Ha. No, they moved, they left, they got to a point where the parents felt very insecure, I think, and they just packed up and left.

Int: The parents with the seventy thousand dollars?

Yeah.

Int: Did the people in the signboard shack feel insecure?

No. I don't think they should, really.

Int: No. Ha. The other worst card you thought was Card 3.

This is ridiculous. Uh, I've, my father has been, well there have been periods of time when we would sit on either side of a room and just toss back and forth our feelings about psychiatrists and some of the basic principles of psychiatry. And "neurotic parents rear neurotic children" is something that we cannot agree with, and, uh, the uh, the guilt felt by the parents, the, the Slades is non-existent. It isn't there. It's stupid, haha, and uh, they don't feel guilt, they feel concern because I, as I said before, they feel that a, an injustice has been done to their son, and this isn't, this isn't right, and to tamper with someone's mind this way is brutal, and uh, so partly on my, my a, common sense, and partly on my upbringing I feel this way, that it's a, oooh...

Int: By upbringing you mean the sense that your parents feel the same way?

Yes, and the fact that my father and I have talked about this and, and uh we agree on the fact that some of the phases of psychiatry are kind of, not really out-dated but kind of misconstrued from the beginning.

Int: What does your father do, if I might ask? I'd like to have that...

Well, he's a, he's a, an anesthesiologist, but he is, he uses hypnosis in his work, and uh, in this hypnosis some very interesting things come out of the patient, and even, uh, during the period of time when a patient is anesthetized there are, he is, uh, very free in his talk. I mean his, his subconscious will work, and it will, it will bring things out, and the use of hypnosis in psychiatry has also interested him.

Int: Then Card 2 you thought was a poor card.

Uh, this is ridiculous. That's all I can say, huh, about the immediate thing, but uh, it, the, if anyone were to feel this way about this situation, they would have a definite problem of their own, because uh, hhm, the world is interdependent, but the fact that an individual must, uh, cooperate with legitimate institutions, to uh quote this, is taking away from the words "interdependent world". Uh, and uh, we, we say that we are independent, and we are to a certain extent interdependent on each other, but the mind is independent, and uh the person does not have to listen specifically or obey any institution. Now of course he might suffer from this, greatly, such as prison, or a, a the institution of taxation a, leads to a prison term, yeah, haha, leads to prison terms and whatnot. There, there are consequences that must be paid if one strongly believes in these things, but uh, as long as it makes the person feel good, within himself, I mean, you feel that he has done something, what he feels is right, then society should not bother him about this. I mean it's none of society's business, and uh, progress is made daily, I mean every day something new happens, and whether or not people cooperate with an institution has nothing to do with this progress that's made by our society.

Int: Certainly not with individuals.

Yeah. It's, it's, it's, this is very queer, and uh, I'd hate to see anyone choose it as a good one.

Int: Card 5, last of the poor ones.

Uh, I gathered from the material that the situation, that John was suspended or asked to leave school.

Int: Or scared out.

Or scared out, yes. Uh, in a sense then, Mr. Blakely did run the punks out of town, and uh, he uh, he isn't too soft and compromising, I would say, but is very brutal, uh, and imposing on the feelings and the mind, and uh, the time of Alan. Uh, he, he does have to watch his step legally, because I feel that there is, there is room for the parents to get very upset and to take legal action and uh, Mr. Blakely could loose his shirt quite easily, and uh, his policy is, is not good, I mean I, I should think that he wanted to do what was right, wanted to do the good thing and the right thing in all this, but he failed miserably, and he reached a point where he completely forgot about his kindly attitude and his warm, friendly exterior, and uh, resorted to the brutal, cold and unemotional interior of his inner self. And the, I don't know, you couldn't call it jealousy, it was a resentment of some kind I think of his feelings toward Johnny, uh, but it, this got in the way of his uh, of his...

Int: Are you sure you couldn't call it jealousy? Well, uh....

Maybe you could, because he obviously wants to get very close to this boy, I mean to talk to him, to be able to know what he thinks, but uh, he can't, and Johnny has reached this point, and this could very definitely have a bearing on the whole thing, and uh, of course, he's he's uh, this whole thing came out when that little girl was so kind as to tell everyone to watch out, to save him. It's a plea from the heart, but haha, a very interesting one.

Int: Now is there any additional comment that the cards didn't touch on?

Uh, Miss Post. I think that the reason I chose the ones I did for the best ones was because the, they, they were my thoughts and if I respect her thoughts then she should respect mine, and I should not have to write in a manner that she does. I mean follow her style and if she likes God write all about God and the love of God. I shouldn't have to do this, and uh, she seems to be a very open-minded person, and I think that she would respect my thoughts. And that's all I guess.

Int: Thank you very much.

Part IV

Ressentiment and the High School

A. THE HYPOTHESES REVISITED

Seven hypotheses were introduced in Section B to Part I of this report. We shall now review our findings relative to these hypotheses in order to determine to what extent our expectations have been fulfilled.

The first project hypothesis stated that Conventionals would constitute the largest identifiable group in each school. Earlier we defined Conventionals in the following manner: Conventionals are students who generally accept the conventions of their institution. These students will be predisposed to accept the leadership of institutional authorities, whether formal or informal, adult or peer. They will tend to reduce conflicts to the most stereotyped terms, and to prefer instrumental ends to those concerned with their own vitality and integrity. They will show both a strong desire to please and a low degree of personal emotional involvement in their current situation - the combination often expressing itself in resignation. In testing this hypothesis we planned to ferret out Conventionalism on the part of our subjects and to determine its incidence.

The Q-Sort pile placement statistics exist as a wealth of detail - detail elaborated on at great length through the interviews. In all, there are approximately 10,000 pages of testimony that have been collected in response to this instrument. Part III to this report is a summary of the main conclusions drawn from the interviews and should be kept in mind when reading this examination of the hypotheses. For present purposes, however, we will concentrate on one episode only and further, only on the statistical response to that episode.

This will be Episode VI, Alan Slade and His Friends. By the time a subject had arrived at Alan Slade he had had experience with the method and should be over any fears he might have about the interviews. He knew the interviewer and had some awareness of the direction in which the discussion was moving. For these reasons we think that the results for Alan Slade, reflecting a considered opinion on the part of the respondent, ought to be somewhat more stable than those from earlier sessions. What are those results, then, and what do they imply about Conventionalism?

The most popular card for Episode VI is #2, which runs: The attitude of Alan's parents illustrates how necessary it is that parents cooperate with the school, if as much as possible is to be done for students when they need help. In a world as interdependent as ours, the individual must cooperate with the legitimate institutions of society if progress is to be made. To our mind, #2 for Alan Slade comes closer than any other card in the whole series of 54 to being a restatement of the definition of Conventional introduced above.

The second most popular card is #1: Bad off as he seems to be, the root of Alans trouble is probably basically self-pity. Certainly, he is lucky at least to have both a friend and a counselor so devoted to helping him. If he won't let them, he can't expect things to get much better. Here, the individual is expected to give up his illusions of independence and give in to the system. Otherwise he'll get no help. In addition, he is insulted in the process.

And third most popular is #6, which states: Mr. Blakely seems to be on the right track;

but the school's resources do not extend far enough to back him up. When the school psychiatrist recommends that a student be given psychiatric help, the school should require that he accept it and, if necessary, provide the funds for facilities to make it possible. For especially difficult cases of arrogance an expert is needed, and the school should require the recalcitrant to accept the good offices of the expert - as the underlined portion indicates.

Turning now to the negatives, #5 is worst by a wide margin: The worst thing that can be said about Mr. Blakely's policy in this case is that it is too soft and compromising. Knowing what he evidently does -- or he wouldn't have dared to go this far -- he ought to have kicked both these young punks out of town, rather than just one. Of course, under the circumstances, he has to watch his step legally. Mr. Blakely can impose his will as he sees fit as long as this is done in the name of helping. Hostility on his part - he is, after all, an expert - is objectionable, should it appear. Indignation has no place in the processing of young people in the name of the social norm.

Number 7 ranks second in unpopularity: Mr. Blakely's action is both unprofessional and a gross invasion of privacy. He is allowing himself to be influenced by one student against another, has used his office to break up a private friendship between two students and done grave injury to both. To call this "helping" is either hypocrisy or lunacy. Here, an entirely different position is introduced and firmly rejected. While personal relations, as we have indicated earlier in our discussion of the Best-Thing-Worst-Thing test in Part II, are important to young people in high school they have little force in the face of the system's demands and must give way before the good of the community as defined by instituted authority.

All of these cards have GAPPs greater than ± 1. We maintain that in choosing them, our respondents affirm an acceptance of conventional authority vested in the institution, that they favor a reduction of conflict to stereotyped terms, and that what vigor they have is expressed in their desire to please. They also expect Alan himself and his parents to display a low degree of personal emotional involvement and, should the family do otherwise, they consider it a defect of character. As for resignation, consider the 39 respondents who did favor #7. Fourteen of them also favored #2, five favored #1, and four chose both #1 and #2 as favored cards. Cards #1 and #7 are in direct contradiction, while #2 and #7 together are a counsel of despair. Thus, we argue that the majority of our subjects, in embracing this paradign of response, sustain the assumption that they are Conventionals.

Going further, beyond the results for Alan Slade, we found that even the most isolated respondents of all were not in great disagreement with those at the center. Earlier in this report we have used a Rank Order based on the D^2 response as a means of locating subjects in relation to each other.[1] This Rank Order technique has tended to accentuate the difference between low scoring respondents. While valid for the purpose intended - in Part III we were concerned with contrast in responses - it is not entirely adequate for depicting the characteristics of the total response in comparison with what was possible. The D^2 technique allows a maximum score of 811.4 - were a respondent to disagree with the Grand Average at the extreme in every case. The highest score reported, however, is #245's 449.3 which is only a little way beyond half way to the maximum

Table C-1 is offered as an elaboration of this point. In this table the actual card placements of six subjects are compared directly with those of the subject with Rank Order #1 for the series. In addition the D^2 score from the Grand Average and the D^2 from #1 are both given. These are included in order that the reader may have some impression of the range of disagreement, both with the Grand Average and with a fellow subject. The six to be compared with #1 were chosen as being of strategic importance for the argument to follow in this section and include #2, who is the respondent next closest to the Grand Average, #82, who is located at the boundary of one-third of the subjects, #163, located at the two-thirds boundary, and the three highest of all #243, 244, and 245. On Table C-1 categories A, B, C, and D represent agreement between the pile placements of the respondent indicated and #1. A is when both place the card Best or Worst, B, when one places the card Best or Worst and the other the corresponding Good or Poor, C, when both place the card Good or Poor, and D, when both place the card in the neutral pile. Categories E and F represent indecision and appear when one respondent places the card Neutral and the other, for E, Good or Poor, and for F, Best or Worst. Categories G, H, and I represent disagreement. G is when one places the card Good and the other, Poor, H, when one places the card Good or Poor, and the other, the contradicting Best or Worst, and I, when one places the card Best, the other, Worst. A range of expected mean placements, were chance the only factor, has been calculated and is offered for purposes of comparison. It was calculated from a 9 x 9 matrix including all possibilities.

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[1] As both the D^2 technique and the Rank Order technique will be used throughout this section let us review the method of computation. First, for each card of an episode we calculated a grand average (the GAPP) for all respondents. Take, for example, Card #1 of Episode I. Four respondents chose it as their best choice, 33 as a good choice, 110 were neutral about the card, 90 looked on it as poor, and 10 thought it worst. On a nine point scale, with Best as +4, Good as +2.5, Neutral as 0, Poor as -2.5, and Worst -4, Card #1 has a Grand Average Pile Placement (GAPP) of -.67. Were a respondent one of those four who had placed the card as Best, his D^2 for the card would be 21.8 (4.67 x 4.67), had he placed it in the neutral pile his D^2 for this card would be .45 (.67 x .67). The respondent has five alternative pile placements possible for each card, and he must choose one of them. When chosen, that pile determines the D^2 value to be added to his overall score. As the D^2 are squared there are no negatives. On completing all six episodes a respondent has placed 54 cards, each of which has a D^2 value, and these D^2 values, when totaled, give him his overall D^2 score. These scores are then translated into Rank Order in order of their magnitudes. The D^2 total for respondent #1 is 121.7, for #245, who is highest of all, is 449.3. Since no GAPP coincides with an actual pile placement location on the scale, there is always some D^2 score, no matter how close the respondent may be to the Grand Average. The minimum score possible is 90.1.

TABLE C-1

COMPARISON OF SIX STRATEGICALLY LOCATED SUBJECTS' RESPONSE WITH THE RESPONSE OF THE SUBJECT WHO IS RANK ORDER NUMBER 1

Categories of Response

		Agreement						Disagreement			D^2 From	D^2 From
		A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	#1	Gr. Ave.
Number	2	6	9	12	10	13	3	1	0	0	173. 5	131. 2
Number	82	6	7	9	8	16	4	3	1	0	296. 0	205. 6
Number	163	5	8	5	8	16	4	6	2	0	415. 5	248. 6
Number	243	2	8	7	6	13	11	3	4	0	520. 3	412. 0
Number	244	1	8	3	6	18	6	5	6	1	669. 0	427. 8
Number	245	2	7	6	7	15	6	3	7	1	629. 3	449. 3
Expected		1. 4	5. 4	5. 4	6. 0	16. 0	8. 0	5. 4	5. 4	1. 4		

The minimum possible D^2 is 90. 1, the maximum is 811. 4. The D^2 from the Grand Average for #1 is 121. 7

Clearly, the disagreement is never very strong. Even the most extreme case #245, who is Mr. M, an extra added to the sample at Milgrim, reaches only a little beyond the central position as defined statistically. The two-thirds of the subjects closest to the Grand Average enclose a D^2 range of 126. 9 points. Their boundry subject, #163, who is Mr. R of Delphi and whose comments on going steady are reported in the Delphi description, Section G to Part II, only differs with #1, Miss M. of Hartsburgh, on eight out of 54 cards. The top third of the subjects - those with the highest scores - add another 200. 7 points in D^2 value, to make a total of 449. 3 points from the Grand Average for all subjects. The span between #82, at the one-third boundary, and #163, at the two-thirds boundary, is especially crowded (43. 0 points on the D^2 scale) and thereby suggests that the sample as a whole can be characterized in terms of mild disagreement by many, but with most close in agreement with the Grand Average. Even respondent #2, Miss L of Hartsburgh, whose discussion of the Clarke-Barto Incident appears in Section B to Part III, disagrees with Miss M. (#1) on one point. In our opinion this mild disagreement partly represents the hold our subjects have on individuality, and partly, the degree to which they are oblivious to the implications of the choices they are making.

Our respondents were Conventionals. There were only a few who were not. Among these, of course, are #243, 244, and 245. At the outer limit was Mr. M., (#245) of Milgrim. He was articulate, terrifying in his intelligence, and brilliant in his observations. However, his output of interview material was so voluminous and so baroque as to defy selection and organization. It was unusable in summary. Miss B of Martingale (#244) was antipode to Mr. M. She hardly said a word and never explained her extraordinary choices. In this she was also unique, in that most of the other respondents in the high one-third discoursed at length and were only too willing to express themselves. She was most like respondents with a low D^2 rank order. Number 243 is Mr. A of Ipswich. His discussion of Alan Slade is included in extenso in Section H to Part III. He and Mr. M. have in common their choice of Card #9 of the Clarke-Barto incident, as their Best for that episode. They are alone in this.

In addition to the expectation that Conventionalism would be wide-spread among our respondents, the first project hypothesis also asserts that this will be true for every school, as well as for all schools. To examine this proposition the positive responses to five cards are compared school-by-school. This is done in Table C-2. The cards used are those on which the GAPP is greater than +2 for all respondents. These five cards represent the greatest concentration of agreement in the series of 54. They are Cards #8 and #6 from Episode I, Cards #3 and #6 from Episode IV, and Card #2 from Episode VI. Together they constitute a restatement of our definition of Conventional. Card I-8 (Episode I, Card 8) is the "school psychologist" card from the Clarke-Barto Incident. It reads: At the faculty meeting that afternoon, Mr. Clarke discusses the "Johnny Barto" problem with the school psychologist and the school psychologist agrees to set up a counseling program designed to get at Johnny's "anti-social" behavior and straighten him out. The psychologist then calls Johnny in for counseling. The GAPP for this card is +2.55. Also from the Clarke-Barto Incident is I-6, the "calls parents" card. It states: Mr. Clarke calls Johnny's parents, describes the incident to them, informs them of the seriousness of the offense, and suggests that they take appropriate measures to get Johnny in line. He also warns them that if they do not succeed, it will reflect against Johnny. The GAPP for this card is +2.11.

Not entirely discouraging in its original context - after all, Johnny's parents might have been inclined to stand up to the implied intimidation and speak for their son - I-6 takes on a more ominous note when considered in conjunction with #2 from Episode VI, the "cooperate with school" card of Alan Slade and His Friends. We have already cited and reproduced this card earlier in this section. The GAPP for this card is +2.52. As was suggested earlier, #2 certainly reflects the spirit of the definition of Conventional, in fact, it could almost be entitled The Conventional's Credo. The other two cards, IV-6 and IV-3 are our old friends, Karen Clarke and Elfrieda Eubanks, who are almost certain to go on The Kings Visit. Karen's card is the most popular of all the 54, with a GAPP of +2.57, while Elfrieda registers a GAPP of +2.02.

In Table C-2 the percentage of favorable responses (both Good and Best) for these cards is recorded for each school. The pile placement distribution, Best through Worst, of each card for each of the schools has been subjected to a Chi-square test of significance, and the results of this test are also reported. As in Appendix A, an asterisk (*) denotes that the distribution of cards into piles for that school when compared to the distribution for all schools differs significantly at the 5% level, and two asterisks (**), that the distribution differs at the 1% level of significance.

TABLE C-2

A COMPARISON OF FAVORABLE RESPONSES IN PERCENTAGES BY SCHOOLS TO SELECTED CARDS

	CARDS				
Schools	I-8	I-6	VI-2	IV-6	IV-3
Parma	76	82	79	73	88
Hartsburgh	79	78	85	89	82
Milgrim	68	72*	74	81*	67
Martingale	64*	68	76	96	60
Caddo	73	74	85	84	74
Delphi	74	70	74	81	66
Havencrest	84	88	71	80	68
Ipswich	93	51	74	59**	55
St. Elmo	88	76	86	84	80
Teachers	--	--	--	66*	69
All Schools	77	73	79	81	72

Generally, the significance reported, results from a single Worst placement or several Poor placements and only involves four or five respondents, at the most. The greater majority of the subjects favor these five cards, and in no case is any card rated at less than 50 per cent favored for a school. Ipswich is somewhat unconvinced in its placement of I-6. There, possibly in respect to their special circumstances as a boarding school, 44 per cent of the students placed the card in the neutral pile. Ipswich students were also less than enthusiastic about either Karen Clarke or Elfrieda Eubanks. Instead, they showed a strong preference for the Bernstein Twins and a more modest one for Scott Cowen.

Milgrim students were at odds over Karen and thereby achieved the significance recorded there. Eighty-one per cent favored her, but against this fifteen per cent found her a poor choice. And, as was pointed out earlier, teachers were not as strong for Karen as were their students.

It is noticeable that the southern school, Havencrest, was better disposed towards Elfrieda than were either Martingale or Ipswich. All in all, though, the results of our analysis support the hypothesis that Conventionals predominate in every school.

We have shown through the card choice pattern that most of our subjects are Conventional in their pile placements, and further, that this pattern reproduces itself in each of the schools. In the light of these findings it is our opinion that the first project hypothesis is correct as stated, and that Conventionals constitute the largest identifiable group in each school.

The second project hypothesis stated that, for all students, and for the students of the several schools, taken separately, the objective value preferences of Conventionals would most accurately represent the central tendency of value preferences. In Part III the value preferences of average students as developed during the interviews are contrasted with those of students at a distance from the Grand Average. As has been shown above in our discussion of the first hypothesis, these average students overwhelmingly represent the central tendency of the sample group, and as their comments in Part III accentuate their conventionalism, we maintain that the second project hypothesis is correct, as stated.

The third project hypothesis stated that Conventionals will be most representative of sample group value preferences in schools with high Ressentiment ratings and least representative in schools with low Ressentiment ratings. The fourth project hypothesis stated that Adolescents will be proportionately most numerous in schools with low Ressentiment ratings. And, the fifth project hypothesis stated that the residual category will be proportionately most numerous in schools with high Ressentiment ratings. Because all three of these hypotheses are founded on relative differences in Ressentiment and are mutually interdependent in relation to the presumed ratings, we will review them together, as a unit.

To substantiate or deny these three hypotheses we must have at our disposal a satisfactory means for rating the several schools in terms of Ressentiment. Already in Part II we expressed dissatisfaction with the rating method developed for the project, located the source of our difficulties in the very character of Ressentiment itself, recommended a careful reconsideration of the schools in their concreteness, and suggested that Caddo and Havencrest were, in our opinion, least subject, at present, to ressentiment fall out. In sum, however, we have no Ressentiment rating to offer in which we have confidence. Consequently, the three hypotheses cannot be tested in their given form, and therefore must fall.

Nevertheless, we can still compare our schools in terms of their conventionality - nonconventionality. This we will do through the Q-Sort responses which locate each subject in relation to the Grand Average; a centroid position which we have already shown to be expressly Conventional. In so doing, it is reasonable that we keep in mind the ratings for Ressentiment introduced in Part II, and more comprehensively, in Table III, Appendix C, and in addition, the descriptions of the schools as synthetic entities.

Given that low numbered rank ordered subjects are more conventional than high numbered rank ordered subjects, a conventionalism pattern can be developed for each school. This is done in Table C-1. In this table the total sample rank order has been broken into thirds, and each school's contribution to each third has been posted. Since the schools have different sample sizes, a second set of thirds is also posted, with the differences in sample size rectified. For this hypothetical distribution - I', II', III' and I' + II' - each school is treated as if its sample size were 25. While we could concentrate on the extremes and exclude the middle - II and II' - in our analysis of this Table, we do not. As we remember, the respondent with Rank Order 163, Mr. R. of Delphi, did not differ impressively in his placements from respondent

#1 (Table C-1). In other words, it is our impression, that Conventionalism, extended that far out, and it wasn't very far, either. Thus, we chose in our analysis to concentrate on the first two-thirds (I+II and I' + II') as representing conventionalism and the third third (III and III') as representing non-conventionalism. We recognize, however, that the boundary between II and III is primarily a matter of convenience and is not definitive. The table also includes, in parentheses (n), a record of the number of extras in each category. As reported earlier these individuals were not chosen at random, but instead, by some other means. The importance of their contribution to Group III, the least conventional group of all, is apparent.

TABLE C-3

PHASE II SUBJECTS:

THE NUMBER IN EACH THIRD FOR EACH SCHOOL

School	Mean R Score	N in each Third I	II	III	Tot	Tot Xtras	I'	II'	I' + II'	III'
Parma	63. 1	10(1)	17(2)	6(1)	33	(4)	7. 6	12. 9	20. 5	4. 6
Hartsburgh	63. 1	13(1)	8	7(2)	28	(3)	11. 6	7. 1	18. 7	6. 2
Milgrim	69. 2	5	6	16(3)	27	(3)	4. 6	5. 5	10. 1	14. 8
Martingale	69. 6	5	9	11	25	(0)	5. 0	9. 0	14. 0	11. 0
Caddo	63. 0	8	8	10(1)	26	(1)	7. 7	7. 7	15. 4	9. 6
Delphi	57. 9	10(1)	12(2)	8(2)	30	(5)	8. 3	10. 0	18. 3	6. 7
Havencrest	56. 9	9	6	9	24	(0)	9. 4	6. 2	15. 6	9. 4
Ipswich	56. 2	8(1)	7	12(1)	27	(2)	7. 4	6. 5	13. 9	11. 1
St. Elmo	61. 2	14	8	3	25	(0)	14. 0	8. 0	22. 0	3. 0
All Schools	62. 4	82(4)	81(4)	82(10)	245	(18)	8. 4	8. 3	16. 7	8. 4

Look at Columns I' and II' and their sum, I' + II'. If the third project hypothesis is correct *then the Ressentiment* mean scores - the first column of the table - should correlate inversely with Column I', or, at least, with Column I' + II', depending on whether the middle is excluded or retained. They clearly do not. St. Elmo contributes the largest number of Conventionals, both to I' and I' + II'. The three schools next highest for I' + II', that is, those that contribute the next largest number of Conventionals, are Parma, Hartsburgh, and Delphi. Then there is a gap, and following the gap, Havencrest and Caddo rather close together. Havencrest is also interesting in that its contribution to Column I', the most conventional of all, is quite large, suggesting that at that school students run to extremes on this scale. Generally, this is born out by the Havencrest interviews. Martingale and Ipswich stand next, with Milgrim last, that is with them contributing fewest Conventionals of all. Milgrim's low score is partly the product of the three extras added to the sample, all of whom are located in Column III. Were the extras removed from all schools Hartsburgh and Delphi would rate as even more Conventional than as shown; otherwise, there would be little difference in the results.

Summarizing, the third hypothesis fails for the reason adduced earlier. Its failure is accounted for primarily by the high Conventional response for the St. Elmo and Delphi subjects and the low Conventional response for Milgrim and Martingale.

The fourth and fifth hypotheses refer to Adolescents and residuals and their distribution pattern. Adolescents were defined earlier as students whose primary concern is with the meaning of their own identity as they develop it in the school setting, and residuals, as a category including a heterogeneous aggregate of individuals and small groups distinguished by idiosyncratic value-preferences. It was expected that Adolescents would abound, both absolutely and relatively, in schools with low *ressentience*, and that residuals would emerge as an important component in schools that were high in *Ressentiment*.

Provisionally, membership in Column III' to Table C-3 indicates only that a subject is not definitionally *Conventional* that he is in the purlieu, or outer forest.[2] That is all. As this column is the obverse of I' + II', it has the same profile. Martingale, Milgrim, Caddo, Havencrest, and Ipswich all rank high in non-*Conventionals*, the other schools are low, and St. Elmo is lowest of all.

Operating from our experience in a previous study involving college students, we had planned to cluster respondents statistically and then, through examination of their card choices and interviews, to develop discrete groups of students participating in similar value positions.[3] We had reason to believe that such groups, as they appeared, could be characterized *Conventional*, *Adolescent*, and among several, small and scattered, residual. Such clustering had worked well in the case of the college students and it was assumed that it would also work for the high schoolers. It did not. Instead, on reviewing the evidence we found that all we had was a massive conventional response tempered by mild disagreement at the core and tailing off into exotic variety at the extremes. Those high school students who disagreed maintained relatively idiosyncratic points of view when they disagreed, both in their pile placements and in their interviews. As a result, we were left with two categories, the *Conventionals* (Column I' + II') and a purlieu, where, as their interviews suggest, the young people are both *adolescent* and idiosyncratic, and in a mixed measure. They retained their identity as individuals, and no distinction between *Adolescents* and residuals made sense. Possibly, this is the way adolescence turns out to be, when one tries to be statistical about it.

In retrospect, the fourth and fifth hypotheses together fall for much the same reason the third hypothesis fell; that being that there was no dependable means for rating the *Ressentiment* component in the schools. They fell again when the *Adolescents* failed to separate from the residuals - it turned out that adolescence was a residual.

The sixth project hypothesis states that the proportion of *Adolescents* will descend from private schools to public high schools serving a comparatively stable, predominately middle-class clientele, to newly established suburban high schools serving a predominately middle-class clientele, to a lowest proportion in schools serving highly heterogeneous clientele in a transitional neighborhood, whether urban or suburban. All important aspects of this hypothesis have been discussed earlier in Section K, the conclusion to Part II of the report. In addition, the same difficulties found during our discussions of hypotheses three, four, and five again reassert themselves.

The seventh hypothesis stated that the proportion of *Adolescents* will be higher in schools without formal provision for guidance service, or in which guidance referrals are normally student-initiated, than in schools with elaborate provision for guidance services and for staff-initiated referrals. Two items from the *Ressentiment* Index refer directly to this hypothesis. They are #66: Any student whose grades aren't as good as his IQ shows they ought to be is likely to be called in and counseled as an "underachiever", and #70: Our guidance people are on the lookout for problems; they don't wait for the student to indicate he wants help. Both items are keyed true-as-*Ressentiment*. For purposes of comparison the responses to these two items are reproduced as Table C-4, with the schools arranged in the order established by Column III' of Table C-3. As is the case in Appendix A, a single asterisk (*) indicates that the response exceeds the 5% confidence limit, two asterisks (**) the 1% confidence limits.

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[2] purlieu: an outlying part, as of a city - Webster's New World Dictionary, New York: 1958.

[3] Cf. Carl Nordstrom and Edgar Z. Friedenberg, *Why Successful Students in the Natural Sciences Abandon Careers in Science* (Final Report on Research Project No. 797, U. S. Office of Education) Brooklyn College, 1961.

TABLE C-4

PERCENTAGE RESPONSES, BY SCHOOL, TO TWO ITEMS REFERRING TO GUIDANCE PRACTICE IN THE SCHOOLS, WITH THE SCHOOLS ARRANGED IN THE ORDER OF THEIR RESPONSE IN COLUMN III' TO TABLE C-3

School	III'	#66	#70	School	III'	#66	#70
Milgrim	14.8	43	54	Delphi	6.7	39	46
Ipswich	11.1	33**	31**	Hartsburgh	6.2	55	51
Martingale	11.0	52	69**	Parma	4.6	43	61
Caddo	9.6	51	54	St. Elmo	3.0	82**	65**
Havencrest	9.4	27**	42*	All Schools	8.4	47	52

Except for Ipswich, Havencrest and St. Elmo the results are inconclusive. On both items Ipswich and Havencrest are significantly low, and St. Elmo is significantly high. The response for these three schools confirms the hypothesis. Otherwise, there is no consistent pattern, and no basis for agreement with the hypothesis. Thus, it too fails.

The results relating to the seven project hypotheses have now been reviewed. The first two hypotheses, relating to the incidence of Conventionals in the schools are held to have been proven. The remaining five, which refer to relative differences in the Adolescent and residual components of the sample are judged not proven. The primary reason for this failure lies in the difficulty with rating the schools for Ressentiment, a problem which was discussed in detail in Section K to Part II.

B. MISS POST AGAIN

In a world as interdependent as this one, how do those in the bloom of their youth respond to two lines taken from a love sonnet by Elizabeth Barrett Browning - to these two lines:

> When our two souls stand up erect and strong,
> Face to face, silent, drawing nigh and nigher,

How? Well, several of the young people we talked to said they didn't like them especially, because they didn't know what nigh and nigher meant. One young man missed the point entirely, and saw the opposite of love in these lines:

> There's no affection in it. It's like, it could be just two men coming together with swords and everything. It doesn't show any emotion or affection towards a person.

More common, though, were remarks similar to Jean's. She said, of this excerpt from the sonnet:

> It's short and it seems to just leave you off, blank. It seems very cold. It doesn't express anything, it just says two sentences... it wouldn't mean anything to me if I were to read it in a book.

Brenda, while also in this vein, is less sure of herself:

> ... it didn't give me any concept of what it was trying to put across. It was supposed to be about love... it doesn't necessarily represent any kind of love, except maybe... physical love... that's the only thing I could possibly get out of it.

These same two lines make Sharon nervous:

> I didn't like this one because it had some feeling but there was something very tense and very emotional and I don't feel that love is always tense and emotional. There are silent types of love, too, I think.

These are the commonplace responses to this too short segment of a Sonnet From the Portuguese; a sample of those who stand close to the core of averageness.

> Alan, however, found a different tenor to these two lines: As it says, drawing nigh and nigher... It just sort of gives this feeling of every minute... the amount of love increasing and the idea of it growing... more. This is really talking about a growing love. It's awfully emotional.

nd, for Jo Ann, two lines were very much enough:

And, for Jo Ann, two lines were very much enough:

> Mostly, when you think of love, it's hard to explain... It's something you don't really talk about to people. I think of two people that are in love. If you're with a person that you're very close to... you have this mutual bond between you. You can, as it says, stand erect, face to face, without talking to each other and still understand the problems that you have. I liked it because it was short and I think that something as huge, as encompassing as love... that you can't write a whole book about it and explain it... and that something that's short and just makes you think of one thing is better.

But the Alans and Jo Anns are rare in our sample. For most of our subjects, Card #5 from Miss Post's English Assignment was too short and too strange and they rejected it. Only 13 percent of the respondents favored it as against 48 percent in opposition.

This raises a question. Jean and Brenda and Sharon, these fussy little old maidens who must have everything spelled out and who prefer the silver link and silken tie of Sir Walter Scott, can it be that they are oblivious to the passionate imperative? The Supremes sing, "Stop in the name of love, before you break my heart!" Do they not listen, and twist, and feel the power of that command? Can they not hear the tortured pathos of the nasal poet, Bob Dylan? Are they deaf to the terrible bondage of love, to John Lennon's implored, "If I fell in love with you, would you promise to be true"? Don't they hear the excitement of the new sound? Yes, they must, they must listen to the Beach Boys, the Zombies, the Four Tops. They have to, because we have Murray the K's testimony that "that's what's happening." We have the wild receptions for the Beatles and the Rolling Stones, we can feel the dionysic intensity of

Martha and the Vandellas, and can see in the eyes of the teen-age damsels the purity of affection for Herman's Hermits. If our commonplace respondents are at all like the young people of their day they are quite the opposite of what is implied by their choices and comments; they know every word of every song, they can capture, exquisitly, every cadence of the rhythm in their bodies. How then, could they not have understood Elizabeth Barrett Browning, these girls who drench themselves in romance?

There is a simple answer, of course. They lied. They didn't tell the truth about themselves. Or, what is more likely, they left a different truth about themselves at home.

To our mind the contrast between the responses to Miss Post's English Assignment and the vigor of rock and roll is too striking to be ignored. The love Jean and Brenda and Sharon share is a gentle, placid pool of sentiment. To Brenda, the love in the placid pool tastes cool and even refreshes:

> ... the silver link, the silken tie, that's a kind of love that is represented in my heart as a soft... kind of clear, crisp... feeling and, I don't know, this seems to be... the type of love that I guess a man would feel for a woman.

On the other hand, the love of rock and roll is vital, moody, intense, temporal, and as much a part of the beat and the exotic harmonies as it is of the words. The two loves, the vital and the gentle, cannot be mistaken for each other. They are more than contrast, they stand in conflict, for loyalty to one endangers the other.[1]

No, Jean and Brenda and Sharon cannot be absolved of their duplicity. They certainly know of the other love, even more certainly, they dream of it. And yet, when asked, they denied its relevance to the class assignment and lapsed into sentimentality.[2] The tests they took for the project were administered in school. They had to be answered according to the school way of thinking and acting; no hand holding and all that. The spirit and beat of rock and roll belonged at home and remained there. So, they lied. Let us consider the implications of these innocent lies.

Earlier, in Part III, we pointed out that until our respondents had encountered Miss Post, they had proved themselves pragmatic in all things. When faced with an episode they sought first to ferret out the problem presented and then they set about solving it in the most expedient manner possible. Yet, with Episode V they shifted abruptly into a pious sentimentality unlike themselves.

We were surprised by this retreat into sentimentality. We had expected that Alan Slade, with its unstated, faintly dubious overtones, might unsettle our subjects, but never pure, decent, conscientious Miss Post. She did, however, and as a result our subjects chose, it seemed, not to treat the Episode as a problem to be solved but drifted off, instead, into cant. They ignored the fact that they had an assignment due for Miss Post and ought to be thinking about impressing her. They even denied the possibility of her existence, and talked, instead, obliquely of God, fellowship, sacrifice, the secret sympathy, or of anything except the love they are warned by their troubadours never to betray.

This interpretation is incorrect. We now see that even with Miss Post's assignment they were being pragmatic, and in exactly the same way they had been pragmatic before. Consider, for instance, the persons they had encountered during the course of the project. Among them there was first, Mr. Clarke, the social studies teacher. He might just as well have been a coach or a typing teacher. What was important was that he was a teacher, and in framing a solution, what they considered was his teacherness. Thus, an often favored choice for Episode I was turning the miscreant over to the principal for disposition (Card #4), even though it was readily acknowledged that the principal had little to offer in the way of effective punishment - maybe a scolding, a detention or two, and that would be all, and so what. It was supported simply because Mr. Clarke was a classroom teacher, not an expert on discipline or psychological problems, and consequently, had no business taking over the punishment himself. The disciplinary authorities were hired by the school for that purpose.

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[1] At least one of our respondents understood the vital love in the fullness of its being. In discussing why he had chosen the ironic lines from Swinburne as his Best, Roger spoke beautifully of the vital love. For most of our subjects, "No thorns go as deep as the rose's," was thoroughly repugnant, but for Roger it was an invitation to be thoughtful:

> I've thought about love many times and I cannot think of too many...profound statements or very outstanding thoughts, but I have noticed that love cuts deep many times...cuts deep very often. I cannot think of any cases where it doesn't, and if it does last a long time it generally is almost killed by contact with something, close contact, and by this I mean marriage....It sort of got into me, the thorns, and I was thinking about some things and it's sort of a reminder...I don't mean if they get to know each other they won't love each other, but love is, I can't think of anything...but love just ends, eventually, it just sort of wears off like, many things. It builds up like a wave and the wave breaks and the wave hits the beach...it looms up, reaches it's height, and comes back. It goes back into the sea.
>
> Int: What is the sea?
>
> Life, just out of everything, just ordinary, I guess, friendship or just ordinary life or ordinary communications. That's what the sea is. And the wave, it's a new height of love. And then it breaks and crashes, tears itself apart, goes back into the sea.

[2] No formal scientific proof of the existence of the vital love and of its contrast to the gentle love is offered. Nevertheless, we ask of the reader that he turn on his radio, turn up the volume, and listen. Listen to the Beatles, for instance, for with them the words are often very clear. Or, if it is still around, that classic of dirge banality, The Leader of the Pack. The Supremes are more difficult to decipher, but very worthwhile, as they reflect the romance emphatically. With the help of almost any intelligent young lady of 14 the texts can be readily recaptured. If it is too much for the ears, however, "Onward and Upward with the Arts - The New Sound" by Renata Adler in The New Yorker, Feb. 20, 1965, pp. 63-105 is recommended. For original research the reader might try scrounging around among the record shops for a song already three years out of date - what the vendors call a gold record (goodie but oldie). It is I Will Follow Him and was sung by Little Peggy March. This song was running through the author's mind in writing Miss Post' English Assignment and in the choice of E. B. Browning, Dover Beach and the Swinburne.

Often our respondents were even a bit concerned for Mr. Clarke, should he undertake to punish Johnny himself. He might get into trouble for this; he would be out of his proper role. In their solutions to Episode I they focused on the teacher qua teacher, not on the man, Clarke. Their concern was that he act as a teacher should act, not out of indignation nor with indifference. For this reason they were most emphatic that he not play the judge himself, nor walk out of the washroom as was suggested on Card #9. He should act, instead, they insisted, as a teacher acts, and do his bureaucratic duty as he ought.

Again, with Mr. Regan in Episode II, the respondents were, above all things, practical. And since, pragmatically speaking, there was no easy out, they were left perplexed. Could a coach, Mr. Regan's proper role, ever think about anything except winning? The answer was clear, an emphatic No! They could not believe that a coach might be concerned about the larger implications of his function. They were aware, of course, that the LeMoyen basketball team was a mixed group, racially. Ah ha, they thought, might it be that the national white-Negro conflict interfered with winning? If so, forget it, and get on with the business at hand. This national problem had no place on the playing courts of LeMoyen. Then, when this lead proved unsound, they were left bewildered and confessed confusion.

At Havencrest there was an interesting reverse to the response on Episode II. There, Card #2 - the business of a high-school coach isn't to win games, but to give every boy his fair chance to participate, even if he isn't such an expert - was favored, and favored significantly when compared to the total sample response, at 5%. Most of those who supported the card were girls, but, included, in addition, were two boys, two who were very special; the captain of the football team and his best guard. We have met the guard, Mr. B, before. His comments are recorded at length in the discussion of The King's Visit in Part III. Both are in the high third, that is, in the Adolescent purlieu, and both are solid, thoughtful young men.

In defending their choice of #2 as Best for the episode they detailed the exciting and fulfilling experiences football had given them and pointed out how much playing on the team had meant to them.[3] They just didn't want to deny the opportunities they had had to anyone, even if it interfered with winning. They didn't expect to lose, however, because they felt such understanding on the part of the coach would strengthen team spirit and make the team a more cohesive and effective unit. Coaching for them was a possible vocation. They had been thinking about it seriously. Consequently, their understanding of Mr. Regan's predicament was on an entirely different, more profound level than that of the conventional respondent. In their response to The LeMoyen Basketball Team episode they were as singular as Alan, Jo Ann, and Roger had been for Miss Post. In contrast to Mr. B. and his friend, Captain T., though, the commonplace response to Mr. Regan's problems was one of puzzlement. How unlikely that any coach - the category, coach, which included Mr. Regan - would think seriously about the kinds of problems Mr. Regan, presumably was thinking about. Winning was what counted, was there anything else?

Our king, possibly an enlightened king, poor king, think how meager his chances are of ever meeting a spirited American youth, with all these conscientious young people seeking so seriously to make a good impression on him. Again, as it was teacher qua teacher, not Mr. Clarke, coach qua coach, not Mr. Regan, it was king qua king, whatever that might be, not a pleasant, sophisticated man of the world looking forward to a lively afternoon of talk with several bright, possibly edgy young people. Imagine King Magnus of Shaw's The Apple Cart - it was he the author of the episode had in mind - sentenced for an afternoon to association with the likes of Karen Clarke. It must be a cruel fate to be a king and visit the land of the free, the home of the brave if this is all that can be offered; a pseudo event.

Consider, even, Elfrieda, the well rounded, sweet Elfrieda. In assuming the smile of the always-good-fellow she lost a signification, that being her brother Grant, and with it her color, the unique quality that made her choice something to ponder. On the other hand, and despite the alleged prestige athletes have among high school students, Nicky gained a signification - knucklehead. In both cases it was the stereotype the subjects responded to, not the person, and it was the stereotype they were practical about.

Even Mr. Blakely, with whom it was possible to become angry if one read carefully enough, was handled in these terms. Righteous indignation may have its place, but not in making judgements about practical matters; not for our respondents any more than for Mr. Clarke. Mr. Blakely was doing his job, wasn't he, and in a world as interdependent as ours the Mr. Blakelys are necessary. They keep things in place. So, as we saw, there was even a sizeable group of subjects who chose Card #7 of Episode VI, which vigorously attacked Mr. Blakely's handling of the Slade incident, and then still felt sufficiently constrained to allow him to function as Dean *qua* Dean, so as to choose Cards #1 and/or #2. There was no other alternative. He had his *job* to do, and that he might be doing it badly was unfortunate, but no appropriate basis for censure. It was his duty, as he saw it, and that was all there was to it.

The parents, too, had their duty. They, however, did not recognize the limits of their authority and insisted on butting in where they didn't belong. That they showed concern for their wayward son was commendable. That they insisted on doing something about their concern was outrageous - a violation of their proper function. Their duty was to be parents *qua* parents, to recognize the legitimacy of Mr. Blakely's authority and to support it, not to be Mr. and Mrs. Slade, troublemakers; and neurotic trouble makers, at that, who knew so little of how to run their own lives that they needed a psychiatrist to keep their marriage together. It was no wonder poor Alan was having his difficulties, with parents like the Slades who didn't know the first thing about being parents.

Now, back to Miss Post; it is clear, we should think, that the extended description of her was viewed as an irrelevancy by our respondents. To them there could be no significance in Miss Post, the person - warm, understanding, competent, and wise - there was only the teacher *qua* teacher to contend with. The solution for the practical minded was to treat the assignment as an assignment for a teacher, an *any* teacher. That this teacher might be a person of sensitivity was only a chance one took with the odds. It meant no more than that the king might actually have enjoyed spending afternoons with bright and lively young people. Or that Mr. Clarke might have been a relatively peaceful fellow with no special desire to make trouble on that particular afternoon, in effect, that he was only looking for a quiet place for a smoke, himself. The practical respondent thought in terms of normal expectations and practiced accordingly. As Miss Post was a teacher the sensible thing to do was to give her the kind of responses that would make a good impression on her just as one gave the king the kind of students who "would make a good impression on him." Cards #2, 3 and 6, which dealt in pious generality when not in the gentle, proper spirit of love were the proper choices. Numbers 5, 9, and 4 were too personal, too racy and had to be rejected. No teacher *qua* teacher would ever think of them as being appropriate for the assignment.

So much for Miss Post, herself, and the practical matter at hand. We were wrong in thinking sentimentalism was somehow impractical. It was entirely right for the situation, as commonly conceived. The error was in our assumption that the description of Miss Post would be taken seriously.

There are, however, larger questions founded on this "pragmatism" and we must now get to them. Jean and Brenda and Sharon had tried so hard to do what was right. There was no vile cynicism in their responses, no "give the old bag what she wants and the hell with it" attitude. They were very good girls and responded as best they could. How well do they succeed?

Of Mrs. Browning's two lines, Jean said that they left her "off, blank". All right, this was simply a matter of taste. Who was to question her? But then, she went on, "It seems very cold". This is different, it is a criticism, and an incorrect one, too. Sir Walter Scott's love is cold, abstract, something alien to man. But not Elizabeth Barrett's. Her's is direct, fierce, simple, anything but cold. That wasn't all, though, for then, and with a bit of a curl to her lip, Jean concluded, "It wouldn't mean anything to me if I were to read it in a book."

Brenda, for her part, is snide, even a bit sarcastic. "It was supposed to be about love." she says. And Sharon is peevish, "There are silent types of love, too, I think." These are only three of many responses. In one way or another they are sour and negative; they need to blame as well as to disagree with the sentiments expressed in the poem.

Technically, however, such blame was unnecessary, even superfluous. These girls were *engaged in a practical operation*, which was to satisfy Miss Post *qua* teacher in the most

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[3] Vide Edgar Z. Friedenberg, *Coming of Age in America: Growth and Acquiescence*, (New York: Random House, 1965) pp. 141-147 for the text of this interview.

efficient manner possible. All that was needed for the assignment was a simple explanation as to why the Browning did not depict love as such. Such a simple explanation was not easy to come by, and, at a loss for an appropriate basis for criticism, Jean and Brenda and Sharon drifted off, instead, into obloquy. The lies are not so innocent, it seems. The vital love is not only an occasion for ignorance, it also brings to light antipathy.

Even more striking are the comments of a Caddo youth named Charles. In his vigor he is like many Caddo subjects (and unlike the great majority from the other schools). He stands about midway in the sample, embraces conventionalism and transforms it into a set of principles. He enjoys his toughness, also. Due to this pose of his, his language is much richer than is common. In support of Sir Walter Scott's, "True love's the gift which God has given," one of his two Good placements, Charles says;

> ...that lust and stuff like that, I don't think that's true love. I mean you have to love a woman, you have to,... love her and stuff but it has to go a little further than that. A true love should be between a man and his wife.

Despite his rough personal style, we find in this comment an affirmation of marriage and the gentle love, and, by comparison, disapproval of the vital love. In his comments on Dover Beach, which he places Poor, antipathy congeals:

> It wasn't down to earth. This guy's in a world of dreams... When you think you really love somebody you gotta start thinking in terms of, like you get married and you gotta think in terms not of dream worlds but realistic dollars and cents and things like that... You're gonna be living with this woman for the rest of your life and it's gonna be problems and everything... Maybe in high school you go out with girls and stuff, you live in a dream world, but not when you really love somebody.

As with the girls, Charles derogates the vital love. He also plays the gentle love and its co-conspirator, marriage, off against it. They are the source of the need establishing the practical mode and must be respected as such. He has nothing but contempt for the shallowness of Matthew Arnold or for the childish ways of youth which take no account of practical matters. In a word, Charles expresses a quality akin to *Ressentiment* and directs it against the vital love and those who stand, symbolically, for it.

Jean and Brenda and Sharon also are charged with the same derogating spirit. The note of negativity is even stronger in their responses as they strike out against the vital love. Is it *Ressentiment?* It may be. In any case it brings to mind the responses to *The King's Visit* in which we encountered a pattern of denigration. In our discussion of that episode we noted that the subjects not only rejected Scott and Johnny, they were also moved to condemn them. Both were described adversely, as being willful and difficult. The respondents found it repugnant that the two youths refused to accept conventions of dress and further, that Scott argued in class. Johnny and Scott were criticized for being "underachievers" to boot, and throughout, their self indulgence was treated as if it were some kind of betrayal. The Combo, whose members had many estimable qualities, suffered a different but not unrelated fate. They were ignored entirely, despite the clear evidence of their many sided excellence. On inquiry, we found no reason to connect this indifference to the obvious specific, the Negroness of Joe White. In the terms we have been using, where Scott and Johnny were denigrated, the Combo was denied. Again, this is like *Ressentiment.*

Twice, then, we have found a quality akin to *Ressentiment* in the responses of our student subjects, that is, at the very heart of the study itself. And, in the comments of Charles, we find this quality linked directly to the pragmatism he expressed. What does this mean?

In his study of *Ressentiment* Scheler describes the phenomenon as a blockage of vital energy having its source in a feeling of impotence, fear, anxiety, and intimidation.[4] The *ressentiment* man, having been affronted, is unable to retaliate, and thirsts for revenge. Revenge being impossible his poisoned feelings are transmuted into envy, malice, and eventually, into *Ressentiment.* According to Scheler, "Impulses of revenge lead to *Ressentiment* the more they change into actual *vindictiveness*, the more their direction shifts toward indeterminate groups of objects which need only share one common characteristic."[5] *Ressentiment* itself only appears with the "falsification of the value tablets" - the emergence of its special value delusion. This takes place, according to Scheler, when, "To relieve the tensions, the common man seeks a feeling of superiority or equality, and he attains his purpose by a specific 'blindness' to these qualities. But secondly - and here lies the main achievement - he falsifies the values themselves which could bestow excellence on any possible objects of comparison."[6]

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[4] Max Scheler, *Ressentiment*, translated from the German by William W. Holdheim with an introduction by Lewis A. Coser. (The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961).

[5] *Ibid.* pp. 48-49. The underlining is the author's.

We did not begin this study with the intention of seeking to prove that our student subjects were themselves ressentient but rather that the presses they experienced were to some degree infected with Ressentiment and that the net result of this infection was to stultify them. In fact, in the discussion in Part III we leaned over backwards in an effort to avoid categorizing the respondents as ressentient. In Part II, on the other hand, we found constant difficulties with attributing Ressentiment to school presses per se, and yet, uncovered considerable evidence of a widespread infection. The infecting, though, was by persons acting in concrete situations and not so much by the procedures and prescriptions of the institution, itself. Now we find in the youngsters evidence of qualities much like the Ressentiment we had observed in Part II. We also have identified certain values towards which the youngsters direct derogation. One of these is the vital love, the very love, we argue, the respondents themselves embrace when they are at home or elsewhere; when they can afford to be comfortable. The other target is class mates who are perceived to be willful, arrogant, gifted, and uneven in their performance. Or, in effect, those who are engaged in seeking experience, and through it, identity; those who are most adolescent in their mode of being.

Think back now, and realize; the vital love, which is aggressive, direct, exciting, and personal in its expressiveness, is also adolescent. In it we can recognize the fidelity of Erik Erikson, both in Dover Beach, "Ah, love, let us be true to one another!" and in the intense, "I will follow him wherever he may go," of little Peggy March.[7] In its certain knowledge of the eventual death of passion, as expressed by Roger or by Swinburne, we find recognized Erikson's diversity. As Scott and Johnny are adolescent this love is also adolescent, and together they constitute the object of the denigrating Ressentiment - like animus.

Scheler formulated Ressentiment in competitive terms, that is, between persons, and in doing this he overlooked the phenomenon we find revealed here. To him the enemy is always another, a different ego. The different ego is too strong to be overcome, and before it the ressentient one is impotent and must have recourse to Ressentiment. Yet, when one is impotent and shrinks in the face of danger one has not one, but two enemies. For the attacker outside and the weakness inside are both necessary. They conspire together to destroy the affirming ego, to defeat revenge. Ressentiment is as much the product of this weakness in one's self as it is of the strength of the other.

What we have found in our young people is a quality akin to Ressentiment, yet turned inward, at their own vitality. To do this, however, the enemy is objectified, the adolescent that is in each of these young people is detatched and becomes the object of obloquy. The ressentient attack on Johnny, better, the attack on the objectified Johnny - the nasty beatnik - and the attack on vital love, love expressed directly, are together a self-inflicted wound, Ressentiment of a sort directed by the young people against their own claim to youthfulness.

[illegible] we have found in our student respondents a concern about their youthfulness and vitality. Tolerated under certain circumstances such as sometimes at home, with the crowd, at the game, but rarely, in school, this young vitality is sufficiently threatening so as to have incurred a dreadful animus. In consequence, every coarse grained occasion associated with school is tempered, managed, objectified, and stereotyped as the odd, the raw, the special, and the indignant are dispossessed of a sinfulness associated with their youth. They are, it seems, caught up in a protestant ethic, one that is mudane, for certain, but one, nevertheless, formidable and demanding. The demand it makes is that they suppress their vitality. This they must do for some practical purpose, out of respect due the deity they acknowledge. Otherwise, they say, they will sink into iniquity, they will become like Johnny Barto. Barto, himself, is contaminating, and should be removed. Other, less pernicious personifications of the sinful nature of youth, such as Johnny Adams and Alan Slade, should be corrected. Else, all stand to lose their opportunity to enter that obscure state of bliss that is to be theirs in the heavenly city of gold. We must now enquire about that city and its exacting God.

C. THE TEACHER'S POINT OF VIEW

Let us assume that an important lesson is learned in school, and then return to Hartsburgh, to the Best Thing for one young man:

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[6] Ibid. p. [illegible]. The underlining is the author's.

[7] Cf. Erik H. Erikson, "Youth: Fidelity and Diversity," The Challenge of Youth, Ed. Erik H. Erikson, (New York: Anchor Books, 1965) pp. 1-28

> The best thing that ever happened to me was when I began to understand why I am here. I started seeing the teacher's point of view which for years I had always been against. I also began to realize the true meaning of life.

As irony does not characterize these high school youngsters he must mean what he says. Roughly similar statements from other respondents and other schools testify to the generality of this position. What, then, is this "teacher's point of view" he has learned to accept?

The teacher's point of view is accessible through their responses to the F-N Index and to the episodes in which they participated. On the whole they scored their schools lower in *Ressentiment* than had their students. Nevertheless, there are eight items on which teacher respondents as a unit scored at better than 80 percent. One of these (#6) refers to initiations and represents a somewhat negative feeling about the roughness of the students. Two items refer to dress regulations (#12 and 28) and one to the track system in which students are assigned to classes in accord with their tested abilities (#73). For teachers, the most popular item of all is #46, also for students, the most popular item keyed false-as-*Ressentiment*. It states: If a boy and a girl go steady here, the chances are that they are really in love. A phenomenal 97 percent of the teachers score this item False.

Item #46 originally was intended to associate going steady with the vital love, and implies that serious love may be possible for modern young people as it was for Romeo and Juliet. The response of both teachers, overwhelming in their case, and students, at a strong 80 percent, suggests that they both see going steady as something less than a serious commitment. The very vigor of the response can be looked at in either of two ways; the first being, that these youngsters are incapable of love. Such a meaning is suggested by the comments in the preceding section on the derogation of the vital love. There, the gentle love of marriage was real, the vital love, an adolescent fancy. A second interpretation is suggested by the afore mentioned Mr. R. of Delphi. He described his predicament, his being trapped in a web of relations, as "going steadily", for, as he said, "You may not want to, but even if you did, you see no way to change." In other words, he and his girl friend are already caught up in a conferred informal marriage that they really didn't care much for. His analysis suggests that going steady is a practice session in gentle love, an association that includes most of the disadvantages of marriage while conferring few of its blessings. What advantage there was in going steadily lay in the way the practice organized the web of relationships of school society into a dependable pattern and, further, in the degree to which the young person was relieved of the necessity for being vulgar-adolescent like fraternity boys were. Mr. R. was caught both ways. His taste for the gentle love had dulled, and the relationship had become *pro forma*. Fidelity had turned into a drag and life was becoming pretty wearing. So much for the response to Item #46. What is suggested is that teachers and students together cooperate in dissolving the joy of young life as they deny the possibility of love.

Two items, #26 and #6, are again popular both with teachers and students. These refer to eqalitarianism - that all possible points of view must be represented and that everybody gets equal treatment. Confirming the importance of these items and elaborating on them are the results from Episode III, The *LeMoyen Dance*. Card #6 of that episode is, for the teachers, their most popular card. When compared with the student response by means of a Chi-square test of significance, the computed varience for #6 well exceeded the 1% level and probably the .1% level. That is, they like it much better than the students do. Also popular with the teachers, but not so emphatically, was Card #7. It too was placed affirmatively and significantly at the 1% level. The cards read:

> #6: Everything the school sponsors is a part of the educational program, and should be open to all. It is good for the Student Council to have the experience of running the dance, as this helps them to learn to be responsible. But they must not be permitted to turn public education into an exclusive social affair.
>
> #7: Maybe the dance is pretty corny and crowded. But it wouldn't be fair to turn it into a college-type affair that most of the students would not feel at home at, especially those who have not had the advantages of the youngsters from better homes. Chaperone the dance a little more closely, if necessary, but keep it down to earth and unpretentious, the way it is now.

Eqalitarianism is the ideology of the school, for the students, and even more so, for the teachers. Several comments from the teachers in response to these two items enlarge upon the meaning of the ideological position. In discussing Card #6, an English teacher says:

> ...if the dance is part of the educational program and, I believe, it should be

> open to all. I think the student council should have experience in running the dance because I think this does teach responsibility, but of course, at the same time it shouldn't be too exclusive a social affair, and they do need some help and, and guidance.

Far more extended and carefully thought through are the comments of a counselor in affirming Card #6:

> I believe that the student council must learn to stand on its own two feet. And that the only way we will do this is by giving the youngsters the responsibility for planning and carrying out these dances. . The student council must also learn, as the card says, that when a thing, when a. . . a curricular activity is open to the entire student body, they cannot discriminate in any way, whether it be financially, scholastically, or in any other manner.

After a comment by the interviewer to the effect that this was a very significant value for the school to teach, the counselor continues:

> . . . I feel that the student council, through adequate guidance, and adequate leadership, must come to realize that they must adopt a set of values which will help in running the school. . . And that in adopting these values they must understand that the school is open to everybody.
>
> Int: But what then happens to the people whose values are different from those that the school has adopted?
>
> Well, it's a question that requires a little thought. Of course we, we assume that the values of the majority of the school, or that the student council, which represents the majority of the school, will adopt. . . are those best suited for the school. . . And that through education, and through observation, the people who do not have similar values must slowly adopt the values of the majority of the school, if they are to fit into the school.
>
> Int: And, and this would be desirable.
>
> I think, in this case, this would be desirable. Yes.

In responding to Card #7, which he placed Good, a science teacher comments:

> I think the point here is that the. . . maybe the chaperones could have done a little tighter job, tried to anticipate what was developing, and so have preventative maintenance. . . is the point that I liked here, that, that. . . well, now I know you can't always do it, this is again from professional experience, but try to head things off before they start.

He goes on to say that the chaperones should get together, and in consideration of what happened previously, have "some kind of plan of action".

Item #40 on the F-N Index was also rated by the teachers at better than 80 percent. It states: If the faculty here thinks a bright kid is showing off they can be pretty clever at putting him in his place. Sixty-four percent of the student respondents agree with their teachers in answering this item.

Grounding their argument on an appeal to egalitarianism, the teachers accept majority rule as a principle. They seek to establish a consensus through encouraging their charges to be responsible towards the authority embodied in the school. To help their young people and guide them towards an acceptance of what is best, the teachers and administrators plan carefully and recommend to their charges that they do likewise. The planning is also used to reduce and control the tensions attendant on youthfulness. This, in sum, is the teacher's point of view.

As such, it is very much like the student's point of view, only more so - more self contained, more cleanly delineated, more thoroughly reified, and what some would term, more mature. The stereotypical thinking encountered in our discussion of practicality appears again, with the prime object of concern now the good of all qua all. The animadversion of adolescent ways also continues, and responsibility implies that the young people shape up, stop their silliness, and set about being practical. To the teachers the dance is most valuable when it is a learning experience for their students.

Above all, is the egalitarianism which is a moral imperative with our teachers. Again and again, they appeal to equality as a justification for the school's necessary procedures. Its central importance as a source of teacher's values and even, of student values, can hardly be overstated. In consideration of its technical association with *Ressentiment* and its salience for both students and teachers, let us look into this egalitarianism more closely.

As equal justice before the law, equalitarianism is certainly an excellent principle, and one to be recommended. Whatever else it may be, established law is an alien entity backed by force, and in its administration, impartiality is important. Prejudiced use of force is a threat to individuality. We have, in the F-N Index, three items which refer directly to such a procedural equalitarianism. Let us inquire into them to determine what they disclose about the schools *re* this subject. Item #38 states: Most student misbehavior here is handled informally, but students who insist on a formal hearing often win their cases. Seventy five percent of the student respondents hold the statement to be false for their school. The teachers corroborate the students with 79 percent recording disagreement. The second equal justice before the law item is #42, which states: A student who gets on anybody's black list here has a pretty hard time; it practically takes a lawyer to get him off. Students agree at 49 percent with the statement. While it is less popular with them, this item contains such a harsh criticism of the school that a finding that 51 percent of the students do not agree with it is hardly something to celebrate. Teachers as a group rate this item at 37 percent, again a substantial number, considering its distastefulness. The third is #52: If a teacher or administrator accuses a student of misbehavior here, there isn't much he can do to defend himself. The response to this item produces a conflict. The student respondents agree with the statement at 59 percent. Only 25 percent of the teachers agree, however. In brief, then, the response to the three items selected indicates that neither teachers nor students are vigorous in affirming that equality as a legal principle characterizes their schools.

Equalitarianism may also be understood in a more general sense as equality of opportunity. This social equality may be what the teachers have in mind in their commitment to an egalitarian ideology. In substance social equality implies that no one is entitled to special consideration. Formally, such equality exists in contradistinction to privilege. Life is not properly a handicap race with the big, strong fellow assigned a hundred yard lead over the scrawney one because he can bulldoze the judges. Nor, theoretically, should pity allow the scrawney one an advantage over his more generously endowed opponent. Differences are not supposed to count, and with both starting the race with an equal opportunity to win, their differences should assert themselves in the race, not in the conditions establishing the race. This is over simplified, of course, but will do for the purposes of demonstration. In fact, as our discussion of Item #73 will show, when one faces a concrete situation, it is almost impossible to be simple minded about egalitarianism.

Item responses to this social equality are mixed in the information they generate. We have previously noted the vigorous affirmative response to Items #26 and 56, the items referring to equality among points of view and equality of treatment. It was from the response to these items, reinforced by many, many interview comments that we have drawn our main conclusions about egalitarianism and its predominence as an ideology. Yet, in contradiction is #72, which states: Anybody who is really good at anything is looked up to around here, whether it is jazz, playing ball, or classwork. This item is vigorously affirmed at 74 percent for students and 84 percent for the teachers. In the light of their indifference to the Combo for *The King's Visit*, though, it is difficult to place much credence in this result. *The King's Visit* had more meaning, contextually, and is supported by the interviews. Again and again, the problem with the item responses and their lack of relevance to concrete situations asserts itself. Probably, the item sounded all right on its face, so, the respondents, in an amiable way, agreed. They also agree the Combo plays well, but that that is no basis for a special honor such as a visit to the King. Hence, we accept the response to this item with reservations.

Number 58 brings teachers and students into contradiction. It reads: We try not to have "stars" in sports here. The important thing is for everybody to get a chance to participate. This is much the same issue as one of those examined through the *LeMoyen Basketball Team* episode. In their discussion of the episode students were convincing in their argument that winning was what counted, that competence was necessary for winning, and that, should this create "stars", so be it. Equal opportunity was discussed but was considered of minor significance. It was a once-a-year matter, a matter of whether a player made the team or was cut, and that was all. Otherwise equal opportunity was a problem to be handled through an intramural program. On Item #58 the students voted 57 percent against, the teachers, 53 percent for, and thus, in favor of less stars and a chance for everybody.

The fifth social equality item is #73, and it states: The school puts students it thinks are dumb in separate classes from the rest. The word "dumb" was a poor choice, we think, "stupid" would have been better, and "low IQ" too formal. It would have been interesting to see the response to "ignorant". In any case, such discrimination as is suggested must be very widespread for 86 percent of the teachers, who must know what their schools do, agreed with the item as stated. Interestingly enough, despite the wide use of the track system, as it is often called, the students seem somewhat innocent about it. Only 50 percent of them answered as their teachers had. This item would seem to deny the social equality of which we have been speaking. A standard response to this objection is, of course, that the poor students absorb too much of a teacher's time and thereby interfere with the abler student's opportunity for education. Concomitant with this response is the proposition that the poor student has a greater opportunity for excelling when in a class with his fellow incompetents rather than when in one where the competition discourages him. As a result it is argued that the discrimination practiced here is practiced in order to achieve an equality of opportunity, that is, that the school does its best for the inept as well as the ept when it separates them. In theory, then, discrimination maximizes the social equality. We do not take much comfort in this argument, however.

The evidence suggests that wherever possible, the school attempts to institute equality of opportunity in the name of the prevailing egalitarian ideology. The trouble is, though, that education is not a race, much as those in charge would like to think it so. It is, instead, an act of care, an effort on the part of the community, or a segment thereof, to encourage the growth of those who have been thrown into life towards the development of their full powers. The equality principle, both in its legal and its social forms, is essentially, a conscious act of negation. At the race the judges ignore the special characteristics of the runners - that one has a very charming manner, that another is an excellent student, that the third is handsome, and so forth. Instead, impassive in the face of all this variety, they concentrate on the business at hand. They watch the finish line and for infractions of the established rules. Their concern is to determine the winner from among those who are entered in the race. The runners have their coaches whose job it is to treat them in their wholeness, who know their talents and deficiencies, and who seek to strengthen them in mind and in body. The judges choose the winner, and judge, we hope fairly, providing each runner an equal opportunity to excell; the coaches care for the runners and help them fulfill themselves.

Education, we say, is an act of care. It is also an act of faith.[8] It is a promise to another person and is comparable to the coaching function not the judging function. Coaching, however, is narrow in its implications; education encompasses it and much more. The educator must have faith in the potentiating possibilities of each of his charges and he must care about their reaching and growing. Care also demands that he work directly with persons pledged to his care in their eachness, not as a generality. His task is cultivation, to nourish; a transforming function, it is expensive and demanding and committed to liberty. The equality principle, which has much merit in circumstances attuned to its need, applies to judging, not to coaching, and is not a sufficient basis on which to establish education.

In fact, as Ressentiment informs us, there is a real danger in the equality principle. In defining Ressentiment we pointed out that the ressentient act is to throw the individual back, out of focus into an abstract generality. The equality principle, used properly, guarantees the fair running of the race. It functions in the immediate present, and in establishing its indifference to variety, allows a specific basis for judgement to be implemented - the crossing of the finish line, for example. In this sense its calculated passivity has great merit. On the other hand, when the equality principle dominates in human affairs, for instance, in manufacturing for the consumer market, its inappropriateness is often only too aparent. Were all shoes size nine C most of us would have to do without shoes. Were they of one design, albeit, with an adequate range of sizes, there would still be a considerable measure of dissatisfaction. And, when we consider that the education of a young man or woman is far more complex than is the satisfaction of the demand for shoes, we can see where the difficulty lies. Education cannot afford to be blind to variety.

The danger implicit in the equality principle lies in the possibility of the variety and charm of the concrete being lost over the edge of thingness and disappearing. In effect, the equality principle becomes egalitarian ideology, a leveller ideal which denies individualizing significations. The person disappears into the abstraction. The teacher who makes certain that everyone has an adequate opportunity to express his ideas is operating within the limits of the equality principle. The teacher who makes a virtue of the expressing itself, ignoring the contradictory, the factually false or the poetic in the name of fairness to everyone is guilty of this leveller egalitarianism. In the name of equality, intelligibility and beauty are rejected. Much the same can be said of the individual who asserts that everyone receives equal treatment in his class. In certain contexts the student has every right to expect this of his teacher. But he also has the right to expect other forms of consideration.[9]

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[8] Erich Fromm reminds us that "the root of the word education is e-ducere, literally, to lead forth, or to bring out something which is potentially present." While this definition is also alienated - the thingness of something; is the dental technician or the dog catcher already present in the newborn child - it does about as well as words can do. Cf. Fromm, Man for Himself. (New York: Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1947) p. 207.

Should equalitarianism become the cardinal principle guiding education, whether as an expression of Ressentiment or, simply, out of expedience and thoughtlessness, education will have been perverted. The task of teaching grows, as we have said, out of care. It is rooted in what the individual can express, given his personal vitality and a rich measure of this care, and can only be fulfilled in its object through this expression. In light of this, any decision about education which reifies the persons being educated must be taken only with great caution. Education cannot afford to take its stand on the side of passivity.

The great bulk of our responses show acceptance on the part of our teachers of an egalitarian ideology. In implementing this egalitarianism consideration shifts from the several persons towards the welfare of the many. The many are conceived of as an abstracted one, an other, named Everybody, who replaces the separate persons; a continuity is imposed on a discontinuity. As the focus of concern shifts to the Everybody it shifts away from the person. It also becomes transformed. The person is characterized by lability, growing, and a capacity for fidelity. Responsive, the person can be responsible in the face of a predicament in the here and now. The Everybody is characterized by inertness - that is, as it is an abstraction it is constant in time - and by impassivity, which means that its capacity for response other than in predetermined modes is decidedly limited. Intermittently, such as during a strike or revolt, Everybody may get out of hand, but its normal manner is normalcy. Usually, Everybody stays in its predetermined place. In sum, when the teacher ordains egalitarianism he transforms his students who came to him as persons into an other that is only a piece of the person they are; this is Everybody. That piece is not only a simplification of the person, it also differs in its very nature. It is inert and impassive, whereas they, the persons, are vital. The Everybody has no need for care, it is. What it requires is legitimation, and that, it receives from its ordination by authority, and, its acceptance as the epitomy of rightness by the students. It also requires, when there are several such and they interlock, management. To the extent then, that the teacher negotiates the transformation of the persons to a set of Everybodys, he can devote himself to management, which is far less demanding than is caring.

We now have an idea of the identity of the deity against whom our young people might have sinned were they not so careful. He is Everybody. He is the alienated being (more properly, the alienated beings) who represents the person in the eyes of his fellows, both those in nominal authority and those who are one's peers. His is the true authority, the more so because his opinion is law and there is no appeal. There is, in fact, no one to appeal to. He is indifferent, impassive. The teachers and one's fellows can only enforce his authority. They are his agents. Even they, however, are at his mercy. For the teachers, their point of view is Everybody's too, as we have already demonstrated. It is an alien incarnation lodged in their very persons. One's fellows, as a generality, are opinion, itself, special form of Everybody.

He exists as a past, a present, and a future. The vital act is an act of sin because it threatens his authority. The vital act can induce change, whereas he is constant into the future. It thereby undermines his being. For those who accept him he offers a future, predestined, replete with rewards which are the amenities accorded success in an organizational world. This is his heavenly city. Our protestant students, finding in themselves tendencies to sin, that is, to differ in a vital sense, condemn this threat to their aspirations, much as they love love and love enthusiasm, they derogate them as silly and childish. With this we are now close to the true meaning of life.

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[9] We recognise that in talking about the teacher and the school as we do throughout this section we too are guilty of reducing the persons in their rich variety to abstractions. This is in contradistinction to our previous effort, which certainly fails, as it must. Throughout we have attempted to bring the reader into relation with the school qua Parma or Harisburgh, the student qua Roger or Joan, and the teacher qua Mr. J. Nevertheless, we too must be practical, and as such practicality demands abstracting - i.e. of reducing to manageable terms our problems - we plead guilty to the creation of stereotypes. It hurts, though.

D. THE TRUE MEANING OF LIFE

Egalitarianism is only one of the many structures of alienation common to the schools we observed. Majority rule, again worthwhile where appropriate, serves as another as does the responsibility alluded to by our teacher respondents. In each case the person is cancelled out, to be replaced by a figment which stands for him. The school - itself a figment, composed of teachers, counsellors, administrators, who are also figments - then busies itself about responding to these various figments and their needs. As a result, the bundle of figments absorbs the concern originally possessed by the person. The school is thus an institution, as elaborated in Sartre's new terminology, "An inorganic unification of a serialized multiplicity."[10] The relationship of student to Everybody, first identified in our examination of egalitarianism and now broadened to include a whole range of such relationships, is what Sartre calls seriality. Each person is a totality in himself. Each person may also exist as part of a plurality of persons conceived of in terms of some object. The figment part of him that joins with his figment fellows in some common effort is Other to the him in solitude. It has an objective character, a determined future and a determining past, and, to the extent he (the person) commits himself to it (or must commit himself to it) it becomes a fragment of his destiny. In his character as Other - herein, the Everybody, the majority, [illegible] - he is the same as his fellows. They, as Other, are a series, whereas in his solitude each is a totality. This Other has thingness, is inorganic. The person, in solitude, is, on the contrary, an organic unity. As he grows and consumes and dies he expresses his vitality. To the degree the institution is systematized, the multiplicity of organic persons are replaced by an inorganic unification.

In itself, the inorganic unification which we call a school performs a necessary function, for it is through its mediation that young people are fitted to society. Only one of several such unifications - the most notable other being the family - it is especially important for an industrial-bureaucratic society. This is because education institutionalized is radically alienated and alienating. The structure imposed is cleanly reified and functions on an abstract level, and in this, is the image of the society, itself. In the school the points of interaction are sharply delimited and circumscribed. One encounters the teacher mainly in formalized situations. By comparison, the Others in authority in the family - father, mother, aunt - are encountered at many points of interaction. The teacher-student relationship is further alienated through its dependence on language, and on a distinct subject matter. Examples of alienation in school, when compared to the family, are abundant; to pursue them further will only distract us at this point. What is important is that we live in a society which has become radically institutionalized, and that in such a society, education as an inorganic unification has a distinct virtue. It is through its efforts that young people are wrenched from the arms of their parents and trained to operate in the bureaucratic larger world. This is a necessary act, it would seem, for we need radically alienated people for our radically alienated world.

Nevertheless, an alienated educational system, whatever its fitness, comes close to being a contradiction in terms. An institution constituted as above may be of excellent service. It can perform repetitive tasks even when these are of great complexity. Education, however, while repetitive, too, connotes a special kind of repetitiveness. What is attempted is not to repeat an operation but to bring to fruition each of many growth processes. If it is that kind of education in which those in responsible positions care about, not just care for their charges, it must recognize the variety manifest in the person and then respond to each in terms appropriate to his uniqueness. Otherwise education is simply another form of manufacturing, and a cruel one, at that.

In consequence, there is a contradiction rooted in the very nature of the process. Alienated teaching can produce graduates fit for an alienated society, but only at great expense to their own growth possibilities. This must follow if we are correct in our assertion that the figment-thing that stands for the person exists fixed in time, whereas the person an organism, changes. This is where the difficulty lies.

Alienated education does not emerge as a plot against humanity, however, even if, to all appearances, it seems to work out that way. Instead, it emerges as a natural process, directly out of the figmentizing-individualizing dialectic, and it is this we will now trace through.

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[10] R. D. Laing and D. G. Cooper, *Reason and Violence, A Decade of Sartre's Philosophy, 1950 - 1960*, (London: Tavistock Publications, 1964), p. 101. We acknowledge our indebtedness to the recent work of Jean-Paul Sartre for the analysis contained in this section. The three works: *Saint Genet, Comedien et Martyr*, (1952) *Questions de Methode* (1960), and *Critique de la Raison Dialectique* (1960) are of central importance. The first two have been translated into English, the third has not, as yet. Three other books are also of interest as they present this material in English as a totality; condensed and cross-referenced. They are Laing and Cooper, already mentioned above, *The Philosophy of Jean-Paul Sartre*, Ed. by Robert Denoon Cumming, with an introduction by the editor, (New York: Random House, 1965), and Wilfrid Desan, *The Marxism of Jean-Paul Sartre*, (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc. 1965). The concepts seriality and series, and practico-inert, which are introduced herein come from the corpus of this work, especially from *Critique de la Raison Dialectique*, as developed by Laing & Cooper, Cumming, and Desan. The "bad faith" we attribute to our student respondents when we accuse them of lying about love is modeled on Sartre's use of the term in *Being and Nothingness*.

When we ask why there is aggressive institutionalizing in education, despite the many excellent people who just love to teach and to see the growth of learning and even wisdom in the young, the answer is as it always has been, throughout the study - because it works. Thus pragmatism reappears, again. Through the good offices of the inorganic unifications the many can be managed, handled, controlled, and directed along specific paths, and with efficiency. This can even be justified as being for their own good - the students, that is - as it prepares them for success in the world at large.

A simple example from our own teaching may help to demonstrate this point. Headquarters, the office, what have you, decrees that we teachers must grade our students. Otherwise, they say, there will be no basis on which to recommend them. As alternatives for grading we can either construct an objective test or assign a theme. The test is easy to grade, albeit a bit difficult to make up unless one uses canned items from the teacher's manuel. It also provides what to most teachers is an acceptable basis for ranking students. On the other hand, grading themes, when one is serious about it, is an arduous task, is time consuming, and always leaves the grader unsatisfied. No matter how you look at them, two B minuses never mean quite the same thing. Furthermore, the grade on a theme, when given, is often open to challenge. After all, the teacher may have allowed his subjective feelings to interfere.

Clearly, the objective test is practical, the theme is not. Nevertheless, and for one simple reason, the theme as an educating instrument is far superior to the objective test. On the test the best the student can do is to agree perfectly with the pre-formed idea of the teacher - a thing from the teacher's mind reified through the test and identified as Good, now and for a short forevermore.

The student can surpass the teacher on the theme. Almost always, the best theme is a surprise to the grader, and often he can learn something from it. The worst theme, incidently, when it shocks, can also be a lesson to the teacher. Except where the objective test is poorly drawn, it can never be a surprise. Once constructed, it is an alien entity and belongs neither to the teacher nor the student, but has, instead, a life of its own, and one that absorbs, in part, at least, their vitality and their individuality. The student, for example, can steal the test, and by means of his special knowledge of its contents, take advantage of the teacher.

We find again, all the elements of the pragmatism we have recognized before. The act is practical in that a resolution to a present problem is achieved. A grade is given with a minimum of pain for all concerned. An inert Other has instigated a reflex action - this time the Other is a set of correct answers, not a stereotype - and the persons involved have submitted passively to this Other. Both student and teacher accept the test as a legitimate basis for grading. The student plans his study in terms of the questions he anticipates will be asked. The teacher accepts the test's judgement as if it were his own. The inert form, that is, the objective test, is, thus, a structure of what Sartre terms the practico-inert.[11] Actually, so is the theme, after it has been written. It, too, can be stolen and may be submitted by one not its author. The difference, however, between the two assignments concerns their relationship with the practico-inert. With the assignment of the theme the honest student is given an opportunity to create a structural element of the practico-inert, whereas the honest student facing the objective test must respond in terms established entirely in the practico-inert. The theme writer has a measure of liberty for expression, the test taker reacts to an indifferent Other.

Institutionalizing is not always quite so innocent, though. Sometimes the school becomes meddlesome and insinuates itself into the lives of its students. Take dress regulations, for example. One might assume it reasonable that the clothes a youth wears are a matter for himself, his parents, and, in cases of wrong committed, the law. The schools do not accept this, however, and consider the dress the students wear very much their business. When we asked why they had intruded in this way, we were told that clothes are very important, almost, it seemed, that they _do_ make the man.

Let us look at this another way. Young people in the fullness of their vitality, are also at their most beautiful. With them the clothes can readily be an expression of their persons, that is, the clothes they wear can accentuate the beauty that is theirs. In so doing, these clothes may also help to make them prideful, ideosyncratic, exciting, selfish, and sexy. Allowed their expression, these attitudes can encourage trouble. The young people, caught up in this excitement, may churn about and become difficult to handle. In consequence, the institutors regulate dress, specifying what the youngsters can wear.

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[11] More correctly, an infrastructure of the practico-inert.

What can be worn is defined, of course, by the tastes of the adult institutors. To support these standards they condemn the exotic as bad taste, discourage innovation, and point out how much better it is for everybody concerned. Bad taste here is the negation of the school defined taste which, by definition, thereby becomes good taste. Good taste is the negation of the individualized taste of the student-person. Hence, bad taste is adolescent taste. The young is bad, the old is good, and the opportunity lies in showing good taste. This, then is the negation of negation.

This is not simply a matter of a play on words, for, that which is negated is adolescent vitality, itself. Dress regulations implement the denigration of the spirit and joy of youth, fulfilled, which we have seen operating before. With the negation of negation the vital values have been replaced with values derived from fear. The morality of the dress regulations is essentially negative and defensive and is based on distrust. This, of course, is a formal Ressentiment.

Here, we say, the institutionalizing is not so innocent. In effect, the school extends its range of control, seeking insidiously to displace adolescent values in favor of school defined values. This encroaching alienation is no longer automatic - a reflex response to practical concerns - but is, instead, inspired by the animus noted earlier, aggressive in intent, and aimed at youth, itself.

Several negative comments by teachers about Johnny Adams serve to illustrate this point. Johnny is next to Eric Pratt in unpopularity with teachers; 31 out of 55 would not send him. Eric, of course, is himself a "dress regulation" problem - he has style and overdresses - as is the third most unpopular choice with teachers, Scott Cowen. Nothing is said on Johnny's card about the way he dresses. However, it does say that he isn't especially "good looking" and that most of the time "he could use a haircut and shave". The derogation begins with dress and extends onwards, to his attitude. An industrial arts teacher says in rejecting Johnny:

> ...usually the people draw impressions from first appearances. Unless you could change the way he dresses, and the way he looks and the way he acts much of the time, although he might be a very intelligent person, I don't think he would be a very good impression of the school in itself. You never know how a guy like this is going to act.

Dress seems especially important to teachers teaching commercial subjects. A woman, teaching bookkeeping, continues:

> He doesn't have enough personal pride in himself. I do not feel that a youngster has to be particularly, well, I mean expensively dressed. He certainly doesn't have to be, I mean... thank God we're not all gifted with... say, builds, or voices, and so on, but the Lord tells us we should do the best with what we have.

In this statement we find pride associated with achieving the social norm, not in a personal achievement. In fact, the whole statement is rancid with Ressentiment. A counsellor has this to say of Johnny:

> Here's a person who, because of his appearance, and the fact that he's difficult to get along with, he's erratic, at sometimes he performs well, sometimes he doesn't, that you can't count on him making the proper impression.

Johnny's alleged erratic nature is often held against him. A math teacher compares him with those he would prefer:

> ...it strikes me that he only does things when he feels like it. He's not the kind of student that I would... prefer over other students who do things not only when they feel like it, but do them all the time.

The difference between the school oriented student - in our terms, the one who allows the Other to dominate - and Johnny, who is self absorbed, is clear in this statement. Finally, we have a science teacher who discusses Johnny with sorrow:

> Johnny Adams seems to be a thorn in my side. I think that the adolescent or the average kid today has a fairly soft time. Years ago times were hard, money was hard, and so on, . . . Today, he has his choice of styles in activities, and cars, and so on . . . and so many of them today are sitting back and becoming beatniks, ... and I feel that the man or the boy who has potentials, he can go a lot further, occasionally he can be spirited or stimulated, whatever you want to call it, to show that he can perform. However, in my estimation, a person such as this that does not perform and so on is a waste to society.

These are not every teacher, (six of the 55 chose Johnny to go on the visit) however, these statements represent the majority position, quite adequately.

From them, we observe again the animus found so often before - directed against adolescent values - and further, a stress on order, and a concern about Johnny's erratic nature. Their testimony suggests that the acceptable student is the one who does what he is supposed to do and does this all of the time. He is thereby the one who is at home with the practico-inert. The teachers are forever practical themselves. They see the danger in Johnny's attitudes, the indecency of youth, and the need for control. Impelled by the animus they have developed, they cooperate together to extend and broaden the range of control. This, we maintain, is the source from which springs dress regulations, and, in addition, that whole paraphernalia of controls we found scattered about in the life patterns of the schools; the Hartsburgh Hop, the Parma Way.

The original purpose of the school, institutionalized, is to bring the young people attending there into line with their society. Partly a product of necessarily alienating arrangements associated with organization, this institution may also reflect accumulated animus against the youth. This animus, and the malice it encourages, is not antithetical to the institution however, for the institution, founded on the practico-inert, itself favors passivity. Consequently, the Ressentiment associated with the animus serves the institution well, in keeping with its purpose, which is to translate the persons into things so that they will operate efficiently in the system. In this way Ressentiment performs a vital function for the institution. The institution, a structure of the practico-inert, has no vitality in itself, of course. Thus, it depends on the vitality of the institutors for its vigor; be this positive or negative, Ressentiment or not Ressentiment. Those who design the institution in terms of an objective may think themselves the dynamic element in the organization. Here, we see, however, that Ressentiment also serves as a dynamic element, and is especially effective in that it functions well in collaboration with the practico-inert.

The erratic nature the young people display only too often is seen as a threat to the social order and must be corrected while it is still correctable. That this erratic nature is of the very essence of adolescence is not germane. Control and eagerness for control dominate, and events are interpreted in their terms. In its efforts to direct youth along the proper path the school offers its students first, a carrot - future success in the job world, which is the heavenly city - and second, as encouragement, it whacks them with a stick - it keeps a file in which it records their achievements and their failures. Teachers and administrators often seem to view themselves as surrogates of a warm hearted but strict world, a world that will reject those of their students who have not learned the habit of being good. In this, of course, they are often right, the world being of much the same fabric as the school.

Nevertheless, this is not the only value they serve. To a much greater extent they - the teachers and administrators - are the accomplices of the institution; not its masters. This we saw in the example of the test and theme. The institution - here a school - has a life force of its own. Founded on order it demands order. In conformity with this the institution rewards those who contribute to its life force - the inorganic unification into a practico-inert - and punishes those who sin against its inflexible will - those who express the labile vitality that can exist in both young and old. Inert itself, the institution - Everybody was one of its agents, remember - prefers people who are inert, that is, stable and predictable in terms of the Other that they are. These it rewards. Thus we find the true meaning of life for the institution is the reverse of the old saw about the function of science. The institution and those who manage it, together, seek to control so that they can predict.

During an interview a simple minded young man began to talk of freedom. Something didn't make sense about what he said so the interviewer asked him what he meant by freedom. The young man answered, "Freedom is when you graduate from high school." Most of the young people know better, of course. There will always be a high school, or another institution similar to it. So they learn to live with what is and what is going to be, forever eternal.

As the school demands the students react. This is the other moment of the dialectic; it stands as antithesis to the encroaching, meddling institution and is, in turn, itself dialectical. The institution drives a wedge into the heart of the spirit of each. Acceptance and refusal - yes and no - together characterize the response of the young people. Each answers with both a measure of resignation in favor of the institution's demands and a mete of resistance in honor of his own vital singularity. They are, after all, in the full bloom of their youth, no matter how often they deny it, and they have in themselves a great strength for battle. Hence, their alienated education precipitates a crisis in alienation for them as it reaches out into their lives.

Their singular vitality is not readily downed. Like the young man who anticipates freedom, each in his own way seeks to assert his independence. We will remember that there were anomolies in everyone's Q-Sort choice pattern. From the M-M Items we were able to infer that a wide variety of defensive techniques had been developed by young people from all schools. Among them were apathy, cheating on tests, making school a joke, conning the teacher, and stupidity. We do not even dare to speculate how much of the stupidity encountered is a carefully constructed mode of defense against the institution and its institutors. Some of the more innocent take flight; boys drop out, hoping to "make a lot of money", and girls get married as soon as they can. And there must be a few sly ones even who learn to live with alienation and use it to their own advantage, although they would be very difficult to track down.

Emancipation is not possible, however. There is no life except in institutions. There may be ecstatic moments, when the screaming mobs of teenagers, caught up in the excitement and the music, assail authority with abandon, but these are of short duration. And afterwards, there is always a demand for retribution. There is no safety in such rebellion.

Everybody - teachers, students, parents, neighbors - is concerned about the sinful-anti-social ways of the young and the need for straightening them out. So they pitch in, and help. The committed rebel, and let us assume that Johnny Adams is one such, is systematically shunned. The crowd of teenagers is condemned out of hand, and there is always that faint note of derision for childish ways. The affirming vigor of adolescent hubris is only possible when the practico-inert does not, for some reason, notice, such as at Caddo. Or where the series has been temporarily transformed into a movement, into what Sartre calls the group-in-fusion, and of which, the best example is Havencrest. At Havencrest, of course, the movement is synthetic, it was invented by the principal. Refuge, such as the home to which the youth can go in safety also offers succor. Contrast, for example, Milgrim, where the school and the parents have different sets of values with St. Elmo, where the school insists the parents, too, must serve. The spirit still burns at Milgrim. Everybody usually wins, nevertheless, over the person, and even in the friendliest circumstances, or so it seems. The student learns to accept the Other of the institution as the dominating force in his life and resigns himself to defending it. The interdependency of society demands that Mr. Blakely be supported despite any secret admiration for Alan Slade. And, as for Johnny Barto, if he insists on his contaminating ways, he must be removed from the society of good people.

We are often asked, "How do you know that your respondents are telling you the truth? The answer is, we know they aren't, and we also know they are.

Miss Post helped us to smoke out their lie about themselves, to show that they were in bad faith. Despite their romantic fancy, they answered us in the cant of gentle love. Miss Post also made them nervous because she brought them so close to their lie, and for that reason they denied her existence. But it wasn't only Miss Post, the same process was evident elsewhere. There were those respondents, for instance, who insisted that Mr. Blakely's actions were both unprofessional and a gross invasion of privacy. This is what they affirmed when they chose Card #7 as Good on Alan Slade. When these same students also insisted that Alan is lucky to have a friend and counselor so devoted to helping him (by affirming Card #1), they had told their lie. They were few in number, of course, but were certainly in contradiction. And, it is our judgement, this contradiction rises out of their bad faith, their rejection of the institution they accept. So they tell us little stories, we, the Other, about how good they are, but with an undertone of reservation. This is their lie.

They also told the truth. In our files we have a thing, an alien entity that we have taken from them and, yet, still is them - a pile of tapes and ten thousand pages of testimony. This, and only this, is what the young people chose to say about themselves. Without a doubt they conceived of us as Other, and, in the mode of the practico-inert, they told us what Other likes to hear about them, that is, of their personal propriety, of their sympathetic understanding of

Other's needs, and of their recognition of Other's concern for them. They volunteered the two Johnnys, and Scott, and Alan for Other's purgatory. They befriended Mr. Clarke, who stood in danger of making a serious error, and castigated Mr. and Mrs. Slade for their unreasonableness. In all this they expressed their profound respect for the institution and their need for its good will. Intermittently throughout, the other truth - the eternal vigor of youth - erupted. But mostly, there was acceptance of their fate and resignation in the face of what they stood to lose. This was the essence of their conventionalism.

The tapes record their testimony and their social exterior, and unless they get into trouble, say through drag racing or an excessive indulgence in Beatlemania, this is the truth that counts. For the alien Other that is society, Everybody again, responds only to this exterior. It takes as little notice of the whole man as is possible. The exteriors combined form the practico-inert. Everybody, impassive, deals only with the Everybodys in each man. In an institutionalized world the real man is the alienated figment which responds in concert with the other figments in the bundle. What exists outside the figment, what is negated, is irrelevant.

Even Johnny Adams, unkempt, is in the world of Everybody - it only has meaning in that world. His lack of a shave is a sneaky vengeance, like *Ressentiment*, and further, another negation of negation. If it were a matter of his having forgotten, that is one thing, but, more likely, he has consciously not shaven in order to get a rise from his teachers, and thereby, to force them to punish him. His trick, and he knows it is a trick, is to force them to notice him, even to punish him as that reifies the recognition. It is not simply a matter of attention either, for when he has been successful in forcing them to punish him, they also punish themselves, that part of themselves that would prefer to be a slob. He forces them thereby into even greater Otherness. This is his vengeance.

Nevertheless, his act, if correctly analyzed, is also creative, ill-disposed as it is, for it flows from Johnny, himself, and intervenes into the practico-inert. It is an assertion, a new act of figmentizing, and it reconstitutes the institution in a minor way. Once committed, however, it will likely fall back into the practico-inert, to become another thing controlling in itself. Johnny will have to be continuously inventive if he is to maintain his edge against the practico-inertia of the institution. We reviewed earlier how Johnny Barto, for his part, was remanded to the disciplinary authorities to be processed. The institution is very experienced in de-energizing its youth. It carefully avoids meeting energy with energy, and even Mr. Clarke was not allowed his opportunity to punish imaginatively.

Over time, unless the vital force is very strong, or very slyly used, it will wither as the separate individuals allow themselves to be absorbed into the inorganic unification of the Other. The figments interconnect and become the self, reified, and it is this self that Everybody deals with and rewards for its social adaptability, for the responsibility it displays. Throughout the interviews the young people demonstrated again and again how completely they had allowed the Other to absorb them and to commit them against the idiotic in themselves. This, then, becomes the true meaning of life for too many of them, to become submissive before the alienated education. One can imagine how, in years hence, they may look back with some nostalgia to the old days. The vigor will have become only a memory of lost excitement. And then, nostalgia over and the business of the day at hand, they will set about, practically, at eradicating this very vigor in their young, and in the process, solicit the assistance of the young themselves in their own subornation.

This is extreme, intentionally extreme, to make the point. The institutions of education can have their positive moment as well as their negative moment. Many fine people teach much that is worthwhile, and with care, too. For our part, however, we are concerned with the negative moment and its effect on our youth. Both by a logical process implicit in its very being - described analogically through the example of the test versus the theme - and in response to the derogation of adolescence - examined through a consideration of dress regulations and the reasons why there are such - we find in the educational institution a necessary tendency to insinuate itself into the lives of the young. With this insinuation those who participate in the institution, including faculty as well as students, will find their lives being absorbed into the practico-inert. As a result of this absorbtion the living process becomes both threatening and sterile. In response, the young people (the faculty, too, without a doubt) to survive, evince bad faith. In part, this protects them. But, as time goes on, the affirmation of what is hurting them in their very vitals creates an abomidable reaction. They find it practical to derogate in themselves the adolescent vitality that threatens their success in the institution. With the passage of time, this derogation, originally only camouflage, eats its way into their character and erodes the life affirming spirit, becomes an attribute of their being. In consequence, the alienation that they are impotent before precipitates *Ressentiment* in them.

E. POSTCRIPT ON SCIENCE

When we began this study we had a certain question in mind. In our earlier study of science students [12] and of the reasons some of them abandoned careers in natural science our findings led us to two general conclusions. The first was that science, as experienced in class and in the laboratory, had turned out to be a bore. This was as true for students who had continued to pursue a career in natural science as it was for those who had decided to leave science for some other career. The scientific activity they had encountered was dull, routine in its implications, and reminded them of an assembly line. The impression they had gained from their experience in college was that most scientists were members of a team and that they were expected to hammer away at the particular part of the job without getting much of a feel for its overall purpose.

The second conclusion referred to why certain students remained in science while others, who had been adequate, academically, had left. Both groups, those who remained in and those who had left, were able and there was probably little that differentiated them on entering college. While subjects from both groups accepted as fact the description of classroom experienced science as boring, this had not deterred some from a science career while it had the others. The group that had continued, our control group, was characterized by a commitment to science, by a willingness to work very hard a' dull tasks, and by little or no curiosity, either about their science or about themselves. They didn't talk well about science, and when asked about its meaning, responded with the most obvious bromides. One might have said that they had an ability to defer gratification, except for the fact that they didn't seem to have much of any imagination about gratification either, or what it was they might have been deferring. Despite their exceptionally high academic performance they were not given much to thinking about anything. They were polite, conscientious, and that was that. In a way, we had them in mind when we invented Karen Clarke.

The experimental group, - those who had left science - included a statistically determined cluster of students who were quite different from the ones who had continued. While their averages, around B, were not high when compared with the control group of continuants, their verbal-intellectual performance was of a different order entirely. They had thought, and were thinking deeply about science. They were able to discuss its meaning brilliantly and at length. Less successful academically, they were clearly far better educated than the controls. They were also concerned with personal self-integration and the maintenance of a healthy spirit of inquiry. In most cases they had left natural science for some other major, which, they specified, was not practical. We called them adolescents, and we had them in mind when we invented Johnny Adams and Scott Cowen.

In a sentence, the Karen Clarkes were still in science and making progress towards their degrees; the Johnny Adamses and Scott Cowens had strayed elsewhere, and, if the figure of speech makes any sense, had strayed with a vengeance. Superficially, as this process continues the Karen Clarkes will surely be the scientists of the future. Most of them will fit well into assembly line science, and their craftsmanship will be excellent if not imaginative. The Johnny Adamses and the Scott Cowens will be somewhere else. Many Johnnys and Scotts will probably work themselves into something eventually, but, our impression is that there are others who will find it exceedingly difficult to settle down. Afflicted with ennui, their stray will turn into a drift. Locked into self-absorbtion and craving sensation, the drift for some will be funereal, an alienated flight into alienation, to the village, to pot, to psychedelics. Such talented young men and women, out of sorts with this world, and unable to muster up their resourcefulness are only too commonplace as misery figures in our age.

Some, like Talcott Parsons, may take comfort in our continued and possibly increasing success in producing Karen Clarkes.[13] Others, however, may have noticed the implications in these findings. For it is those who have dared to take a fling at adolescence who are being lost or else, severely handicapped. If Erik Erikson is correct in his judgements about history and the function of creative youth we are then facing a potential disaster for our society as well as a series of personal tragedies.[14] He writes, "Fidelity, when fully matured, is the strength of disciplined devotion. It is gained in the involvement of youth in such experiences as reveal the essence of the era they are to join - as the beneficiaries of its tradition, as the practitioners and innovators of its technology, as renewers of its ethical strength, as rebels bent on the destruction of the outlived, and as deviants with deviant commitments."[15] Also, "It is the young who, by their responses and actions, tell the old whether life as represented by the old and as presented to the young has meaning; and it is the young who carry in them the power to confirm those who confirm them and, joining the issues, to renew and regenerate, or to reform and to rebel."[16] The trouble is the Karen Clarkes, while capable of discipline do not have the devotion Erikson asks of them, the Johnny Adamses and Scott Cowens, lack the discipline. Both have suffered from their engaement in battle with the practico-inert in the course of their personal crisis of alienation. They represent, as we see it, alternative solutions to the same problem. And neither seems well on his or her way to wholeness.

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[12] Carl Nordstrom and Edgar Z. Friedenberg, Why Successful Students of the Natural Sciences Abandon Careers in Science. (New York: Brooklyn College, 1961).

[13] Talcott Parsons, "Youth in the Context of American Society," in The Challenge of Youth, Edited by Erik H. Erikson, (New York: Anchor Books, 1965). pp. 110-141. See especially pp. 139-140.

[14] Erik H. Erikson, "Youth: Fidelity and Diversity," Ibid. pp. 1-28.

The cost of being Johnny Adams is very great. People may say the nicest things about imagination, creative potential, and articulateness, but as the Delphi teacher suggests, when the chips are down they prefer good study habits and a practical application to the task at hand, the assignment for the day. Johnny gets his gratification from inside, when he gets it, and he runs a great danger of cutting himself off entirely from his fellows. His best chance recently seems to have been with the proliferating groups-in-fusion - the movements in the south and in the colleges - for with them his resolve can harden and his devotion may be joined with discipline in the linked effort.

The cost of being Karen Clarke doesn't seem as great. She has cast her lot with the practico-inert. She has accepted the discipline it demands for the amenities it offers. It is hardly a sound bargain because what it asks of her is that which she should never give up - her life. This she proffers in return for a nice house in the suburbs, a swimming pool, money, and status; all the fine things of life except a rich feeling for living itself. If she is a very strong girl, and very secretive about any rebel ideas which may emerge in her, she may survive to create. But, what is more likely is that she will settle down to becoming an attribute of the machine civilization.

In a way her fate can be worse than Johnny's. While his is a desperate adventure which may come to no good end, hers is resignation in full awareness of what it is she is giving up. We say this assuming that she is in bad faith, and is not protected by taciturn unconscious. If she is, then, knowing what she does, there must be a certain instability in her pose. At any time she could renege on her bargain with the practico-inert and attempt to recapture the youth forgone, the vitality forsworn. In a way this is how we view many of the science students who have strayed. When they came to college it was likely they were most dutiful, and not unlike Karen, otherwise they wouldn't have been admitted. But, in the face of the increasing awareness of their commitment to the practico-inert and its attendant self alienation, they rebelled and turned inward towards their solitude. As they did this at the expense of being practical, and live in a practico-inert world, such rebellion is often a disaster. It is an act of will, however, and Johnny, who reminds us of many of those who strayed, still has this will and the possibility of making a creative contribution. For he has worked to retain his vitality. But not the Karen we knew. Too many of the Karens, both men and women, who we met in the course of the study had paid a considerable price for their success. Their experience had left them bland, resigned, and indifferent in their understanding. For amenities, possibly out of impotence, they had forsworn their vitality.

Sputnik was still flying when we first met Johnny Adams. As a freshman he had been considered brilliant and was, potentially, a creative scientist. By his junior year he had become elusive, was often afflicted with ennui, and insisted on being conscientiously impractical. Yet, he was a thoughtful and imaginative young man, a pleasure to know. Because we were interested in what might have happened to him we undertook the science study mentioned at the beginning of this Section. While interviewing for the study we met many Karen Clarkes - male as well as female-but still, all essentially Karen. Frankly, we found her dull. We could not see her as making a creative contribution, unless, somehow, she were to recapture her initiative. And it looked as if this could only be done at the expense of becoming like Johnny, a choice demanding that she take a chance with straying. Knowing that the system had short shift for its prodigal sons, and that she had been well conditioned in her acceptance of the system, we took little comfort in this hope. Rebellion was not her style, and if done, would only be done at great cost to her and to her society.

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[15] *Ibid*. pp. 22-23

[16] *Ibid*. p. 24.

On completion of that study we were not satisfied that we had done much more than to delineate a problem. Both Karen and Johnny seemed flawed to us, and unlikely to find a fully satisfying life. As we were concerned about them and what had happened to them we undertook the present study, to examine whether there might be something pernicious in experience that had operated to make them the way they were. We selected Ressentiment as our focus of study for the reasons mentioned in Part I. Our try at nailing down this elusive process, while not altogether successful, has proved enlightening, even horrifying. However, it seems now, that Ressentiment is only part of the story. Alienation itself, as a necessary accomodation to the practico-inert presents serious obstacles to growth in vigor and obstacles that are unavoidable. In response to its encroachments a crisis in alienation developes for each. In the face of this crisis the polar alternatives are absòrbtion into the practico-inert - Karen's alternative, or a retreat into solitude - Johnny's alternative. Ressentiment's main role is to invigorate the encroaching institution, and thereby to exacerbate the crisis.

Appendix A

Phase I - Testing

A. THE RESSENTIMENT INDEXES

Instructions: The respondent receives a set of tests, with a cover sheet, as below. The testing for Phase I takes two hours.

INDEX R

The statements in this booklet discuss high school life. The statements may or may not be characteristic of your high school because high schools differ from one another in many ways. You are to decide which statements are characteristic of your high school and which are not. Your answers should tell us what you believe is true about your high school rather than what you might personally prefer. You won't know the answer to many of these statements, because there may not be any really definite information on which to base your answer. Your response will simply mean that in your opinion the statement is probably true or probably false about your high school. Do not omit any item.

DIRECTIONS: On the special answer sheet print your name, and the other information requested. Then, as you read each statement in the booklet, blacken space:

T---when you think the statement is generally TRUE or characteristic of your high school, is something which occurs or might occur, is the way people tend to feel or act.
F---when you think the statement is generally FALSE or not characteristic of your high school, is something which is not likely to occur, is not the way people typically feel or act.

Be sure to fill in the whole space between the dotted lines on the answer sheet with a heavy black mark, using the special pencil provided to you. YOU MUST ANSWER EVERY ITEM. Work rapidly going through the entire list of statements as quickly as you can. Please do not make any marks in this booklet. *

The Friedenberg-Nordstrom Ressentiment Characteristics Index begins on page 2 of the examination booklet. In reproducing it here we include with each item the statement itself, and after the statement, the letter "T" or "F", denoting whether the item is keyed true-as-Ressentiment or false-as-Ressentiment. Following each statement we have reported the results, by school, from student respondents and from teacher respondents. For students, the number given is the percentage of those responding answering according to the Ressentiment key. The number of students responding from each school approximates one hundred. For teachers, the number given is the actual number of teachers responding according to the Ressentiment key. A Grand Average for students from all schools, and another, for teachers, is included for each item. In cases where the student response at a school differs significantly from the Grand Average for all schools such significance is designated by an asterisk (*) if the difference is at the 5% level of significance and two asterisks (**) if at the 1% level. Such levels of significance are computed by a Chi-square test of significance.

In reporting results for the F-N R Index, the schools are given in the following order:

***These directions compare closely to those used by Professor Stern in the conventional High School Characteristics Index.**

A Parma
B Hartsburgh
C Milgrim
D Martingale
E Caddo
F Delphi
G Havencrest
H Ipswich
I St. Elmo
GAAS - Grand Average All Schools, S - Students, T - Teachers

As student responses are in percentages, N for students equals 100. For teachers, N differs from school to school. For School A, N = 7, B = 8, C = 5, D = 6, E = 7, F = 6, G = 6, H = 6, I = 6, for a total, altogether, of 57 teachers participating in Phase I of the testing.

1. Students here know that in science the easiest way to solve a problem is usually the best way. Key - F

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	65	58	54	50	49	71**	55	60	39**	55.4
T	2	7	4	4	6	3	5	3	3	65.0

2. The student paper here is pretty careful not to print anything too critical of the faculty or administration. Key - T

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	92**	72	76	76	81	76	73	65*	76	75.7
T	6	7	3	6	7	5	2	1	5	73.6

3. When they don't know the answers and you do, the other students here expect you to help them, such as, when taking a test, by giving them a chance to see your paper. Key - T

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	39	64**	73**	72**	76**	25**	22**	5**	26**	44.0
T	0	3	3	5	2	0	0	0	0	22.8

4. Students here are left pretty well to themselves to do what seems reasonable to them in their clubs and activities. Key - F

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	41*	46**	32	31	31	16**	20**	34	37	31.6
T	3	3	3	5	4	3	3	3	3	52.6

5. The way to get good marks here is to tell the teachers what they want to hear. Key - T

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	31	43	50**	37	35	37	34	36	35	37.2
T	1	3	0	3	5	2	1	0	4	33.3

6. The main thing that keeps initiations from getting too rough around here is that the members and pledges really like one another; the pledges get paddled and roughed up just enough to make them feel at home. Key - F

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	62	75**	54	71*	34**	38**	65	87**	69	61.0
T	5	8	4	6	5	4	4	6	4	80.7

7. Teachers are always on the alert to make certain that there is no cheating around here. Key - T

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	70	56	58	65	72	59	66	70	67	64.4
T	6	5	3	5	4	3	5	5	5	72.0

8. The faculty here make you feel like they take an interest in students, and are there to help if you need them, but they generally leave you alone until asked. Key - F

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	18	18	32*	43**	29	12*	9**	21	21	22.3
T	1	0	3	2	2	1	1	3	4	29.8

9. What students here like about biology is that a lot of good off-colored jokes can be told in class without anyone being the wiser. Key - T

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	14*	27	35**	43**	14*	16	18	18	15	22.1
T	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	5.3

10. Teachers here try to be nice if students contradict them, but you can tell that they don't really like it. Key - T

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	56	58	57	60	58	47	44	48	43	51.8
T	6	5	4	2	4	5	2	4	5	65.0

11. The best thing about courses in shop and home making is that they teach you how to enjoy working with your hands. Key - F

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	19*	23	19*	18**	22	13**	29	66**	68**	30.4
T	4	4	1	0	2	1	5	5	3	43.9

12. You can wear anything you want to school here as long as it is decent. Key - F

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	43**	46*	52	32**	36**	54	61	86**	94**	55.8
T	5	3	5	6	6	4	6	5	6	80.7

13. In answering essay questions the best thing to do is to put down everything you can think of that might just possibly bear on the question. You can't write too much. Key - T

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	37	47	51	51	47	38	45	37	39	43.4
T	3	4	0	0	2	0	1	0	3	22.8

14. The main thing that determines who is in what cliques in this school is whether the members like one another. Key - F

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	31	24*	26	41	30	22*	55**	47**	31	33.7
T	1	1	1	1	1	2	4	1	2	24.6

15. The teachers who have a good line, who know the latest jokes and who always manage to make the class hour a lot of fun, are the ones the students here like best. Key - T

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	73	80	89**	84*	83	77	70	46**	75	74.6
T	0	6	2	1	4	1	1	0	1	28.1

16. The school takes the position that students are too young to get too involved with one another. Key - T

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	58*	60*	73**	23**	64**	46	49	51	14**	47.8
T	3	4	1	2	0	3	1	1	1	28.1

17. Students here learn that the greatest thing about Abraham Lincoln was that he freed the slaves. Key - T

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	36	33	52**	65**	31	26	20**	25	21**	34.2
T	0	1	2	2	2	1	0	1	1	17.6

18. The student newspaper here is pretty careful not to report things in such a way that they might make trouble for the school with other people. Key - T

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	96**	86	80	83	96**	90	84	74**	80	84.5
T	5	8	4	5	5	5	3	2	5	73.6

19. The good teachers here wouldn't expect a student to tell on a friend whom he knows is breaking the rules. Key - F

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	76**	61	65	52	47*	63	66	55	44**	58.4
T	6	3	3	6	4	5	4	0	2	58.0

20. A club here can invite any speaker it wants to hear to give a talk at school. Key - F

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	39	50*	35	37	36	24**	32	48	60**	39.8
T	5	5	5	3	4	2	0	3	5	56.1

21. Students here are discouraged from using their own opinions when answering essay questions. Key - T

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	22	26	33**	28	20	13	19	8**	13	19.9
T	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	3.5

22. When it is really hot our basketball team is a beautiful thing to watch. Key - F

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	19**	26	62**	21*	54**	25	48**	28	19**	32.8
T	0	0	2	1	3	2	3	2	0	22.8

23. Good teachers are the ones who are good to students. They're understanding people who know that teen agers have lots of troubles and they try to help them all they can. Key - T

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	82	84	82	85	90	82	84	74*	89	83.0
T	6	8	2	5	7	5	3	3	5	77.1

24. Some of the most successful students around here are really brilliant. Key - F

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	42	41	49	68**	44	41	38	36	28**	42.8
T	3	4	3	6	6	1	3	2	1	51.0

25. Students here often feel like they are butting their heads against a stone wall. Key - T

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	54	55	67**	50	41*	45	41*	74**	49	52.3
T	0	5	4	5	3	1	0	2	4	42.2

26. When a class here is discussing a problem the teachers think the most important thing is to have all possible points of view represented. Key - T

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	89	91	86	87	91	93	90	87	88	88.7
T	6	6	5	5	7	6	5	5	3	84.2

27. Some of the librarians here try so hard to be helpful they get to be a pain in the neck. Key - T

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	13**	16**	40*	70**	19*	17**	26	37	20	28.8
T	2	3	0	4	1	1	1	0	1	22.8

28. The school doesn't expect students to wear expensive clothes, but they do have to be neat and clean. Clothes that are too sporty or sexy are "out." Key - T

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	81	76**	91	79	85	88	92	83	97**	85.4
T	7	7	4	6	7	6	5	5	5	91.4

29. A lot of teachers here use grades as a way of getting back at students. Key - T

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	14*	31	39**	44**	29	24	14*	15*	16*	24.9
T	1	3	4	1	2	1	0	0	0	21.1

30. About all that means anything to kids in this school is having a good time. Key - T

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	16	34*	49**	46**	26	15*	13**	12**	10**	24.2
T	1	1	2	2	2	0	0	1	0	15.8

31. Many teachers take pride in the tremendous amount of homework they give. Key - T

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	27	28	56**	57**	32	35	31	26	20**	34.5
T	0	3	3	1	0	0	0	2	4	22.8

32. Discrimination is not permitted here. The school insists that every club try to include at least one member from every possible minority group. Key - T

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	43	42	56	71**	55	40	41	42	55	48.9
T	3	3	3	3	3	0	2	3	5	47.4

33. Students here learn that short story writers can make a lot of money if they sell their stories to the right magazines. Key - T

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	28	27	39	52**	34	44*	33	11**	25	32.6
T	1	3	1	1	2	0	1	3	0	21.1

34. The school paper is pretty free here; any problems it leads to get thrashed out informally without too many hard feelings. Key - F

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	54	52	41	49	41	24**	52	64**	58*	47.7
T	4	5	3	3	4	0	4	1	4	49.2

35. Our librarians are very good at finding books for you that are really worth reading. Key - F

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	32	18	44**	17*	8**	26	42**	31	24	26.3
T	0	1	1	0	0	3	1	0	1	12.3

36. A girl who went too far here and got into trouble would be suspended or expelled. Key - T

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	84	77	88	83	81	90*	85	94**	61**	82.3
T	7	5	4	4	5	4	3	6	4	73.6

37. Even true/false tests here make you think. Key - F

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	3	3	7	6	2	4	4	4	0	3.7
T	1	1	1	1	2	0	0	1	1	15.8

38. Most students misbehavior here is handled informally, but students who insist on a formal hearing often win their case. Key - F

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	79	73	74	79	76	71	75	80	73	75.1
T	5	5	4	5	6	6	5	5	4	79.0

39. Some teachers surprise you by getting you interested in subjects you'd never really thought much about before. Key - F

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	13	10	10	21**	6	9	13	17	8	11.9
T	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1.8

40. If the faculty here thinks a bright kid is showing off they can be pretty clever at putting him in his place. Key - T

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	52**	59	56	70	66	70	64	60	86**	64.4
T	5	7	5	5	7	5	3	4	5	80.7

41. Students here know that poetry is supposed to be beautiful but deep down they also know that the biggest part of it is pure bunk. Key - T

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	47	42	62**	68**	42	41	45	14**	36	43.7
T	1	4	4	2	4	1	1	0	2	33.3

42. A student who gets on anybody's black list here has a pretty hard time; it practically takes a lawyer to get him off. Key - T

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	48	58	59*	45	41	46	42	52	57	49.2
T	3	3	1	4	3	0	2	3	2	36.9

43. Playing up to teachers and getting on their good side is the smart thing to do around here. Key - T

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	33*	53	56*	42	40	50	39	54	35	44.5
T	1	1	2	0	1	1	0	2	4	21.1

44. The administration tries to see to it that cliques don't get a chance to dominate in any activity. Key - T

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	37	36	49	43	41	59**	42	37	61**	44.8
T	6	5	2	3	3	6	4	2	4	61.5

45. You have to be concerned about marks here, that is, if you are going to get anywhere and be anything. Key - T

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	96	90	93	92	88	92	91	86	94	90.8
T	7	3	4	3	5	6	4	4	5	72.0

46. If a boy and a girl go steady here, the chances are that they are really in love. Key - F

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	85	81	80	73*	85	84	78	85	83	80.9
T	7	8	5	6	7	6	5	5	6	96.5

47. The students here like a teacher to be wrapped up in his subject even though he may demand a great deal from them. Key - F

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	43	45	49	46	54**	33	44	38	23**	41.0
T	1	0	0	2	2	1	1	0	0	12.3

48. Dances are heavily chaperoned here. Key - T

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	67**	51	56	35**	52	44	55	61*	40*	50.4
T	6	5	3	3	6	4	1	2	4	59.8

49. Students here know that it isn't easy to decide who was the best president the United States ever had. Key - F

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	11	13	12	16	14	5*	12	15	8	11.6
T	2	0	0	0	3	0	1	0	0	10.5

50. Initiations here are carefully controlled to see that there isn't any rough stuff. Key - T

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	71**	44**	66	62	65	48*	78**	27**	70*	58.2
T	5	3	2	4	4	3	6	2	5	59.8

51. Keeping everybody quiet when they're in the library is a regular cause with the librarians here. Key - T

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	87	73**	88	92*	82	84	71**	91*	79	82.7
T	4	5	5	6	6	5	3	4	6	77.1

52. If a teacher or administrator accuses a student of misbehavior here, there isn't much he can do to defend himself. Key - T

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	53	62	71*	55	60	58	50	66	64	59.4
T	1	3	0	1	2	1	2	2	2	24.6

53. To be an honor student here means that you really know a lot about the subjects you've taken. Key - F

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	41*	27	30	33	24	29	27	35	25	29.9
T	1	1	1	2	3	0	2	2	0	21.1

54. When you miss school for any reason, you have to have a note from your parents to get back in. Key - T

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	86**	45**	61	57	52	91**	9**	45**	100**	60.6
T	7	3	5	6	5	6	0	2	6	70.2

55. Teachers are too soft, too easy with the students here. They don't expect enough from them and don't make them work hard enough. Key - T

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	16	24*	26*	33**	18	8*	7**	17	3**	16.6
T	0	3	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	12.3

56. A basic principle of the way this school is supposed to be run is that everybody gets equal treatment no matter who he is. Key - T

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	78	67*	70	73	77	76	77	86**	79	75.6
T	7	6	4	5	5	6	5	5	4	82.5

57. Students here found out in their English classes that Shakespeare wrote some really good plays. Key - F

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	20	18	20	34**	9*	17	12	11	8*	16.5
T	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3.5

58. We try not to have "stars" in sports here. The important thing is for everybody to get a chance to participate. Key - T

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	32*	41	41	44	43	28**	43	64**	53*	42.8
T	6	4	3	3	2	5	6	6	1	53.1

59. Students here are serious about using their study time well. They just don't like it when somebody's fooling around and attracting attention, and they let him know it. Key - F

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	89**	79*	73	84**	83**	65	66	54**	51**	71.1
T	6	8	5	6	5	3	2	4	3	73.6

60. If a freshman or sophomore seems to have a crush on one of the athletes around here, people either laugh at him or try to get him over it for his own good. Key - T

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	25	30	30	32	24	36	31	17**	43**	29.5
T	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	4	12.3

61. It isn't how much you know, but its how much you are willing to put up with that gets you good grades. Key - T

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	15**	34	39	61**	32	22*	34	26	25	31.9
T	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	7.0

62. Club and school activities here have to be planned and approved by the activities office a long way ahead of time. Key - T

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	77	79	77	70	80	83	82	70	80	77.1
T	5	5	2	1	7	6	3	1	3	58.0

63. Most students here are too proud to cheat on examinations. Key - F

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	73	81*	84**	85**	84**	63	66	43**	59*	70.3
T	4	4	4	5	5	3	2	2	1	52.6

64. The administration has succeeded in getting "hell week" replaced by "help week"; pledges go out and help in hospitals and such places instead of being hazed. Key - T

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	41	23*	35	20**	24	31	45**	27	51**	32.4
T	3	0	3	0	1	2	2	2	4	29.8

65. Our guidance people are really helpful when it comes to advice about careers and college. Key - F

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	12	18	11	18	15	16	13	56**	4**	18.0
T	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	3.5

66. Any student whose grades aren't as good as his IQ shows they ought to be is likely to be called in and counseled as an "underachiever." Key - T

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	43	55	43	52	51	39	27**	33**	82**	46.8
T	6	4	4	6	6	4	4	3	6	75.0

67. There are teachers here who when they tell you your work is well done you know it is good. Key - F

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	2	5	6	9	3	3	1	7	4	4.4
T	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0

68. When you miss school here on account of illness, you have to bring a note from your doctor. Key - T

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	17	20	19	30*	8**	10**	25	34**	27.	21.1
T	2	3	0	1	0	0	4	0	3	22.8

69. Some teachers here make you feel like you don't know anything. Key - T

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	65	71	76*	69	61	78**	67	56	46**	65.2
T	3	5	5	4	6	3	4	3	5	66.8

70. Our guidance people are on the lookout for problems; they don't wait for the student to indicate he wants help. Key - T

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	61	51	54	69**	54	46	42*	31**	65**	52.0
T	7	5	2	6	7	5	4	3	5	77.1

71. There are students here who could gain a great deal from a good art appreciation course. Key - F

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	20	20	12	15	17	12	18	20	23	17.3
T	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0

72. Anybody who is really good at anything is looked up to around here, whether it is jazz, playing ball, or classwork. Key - F

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	21	23	28	31	23	22	26	26	32	25.6
T	0	1	2	2	1	1	2	0	0	15.8

73. The school puts students it thinks are dumb in separate classes from the rest. Key - T

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	48	32**	64**	69**	66**	50	55	19**	56	50.4
T	6	8	5	6	7	6	3	3	5	86.0

74. When a boy and a girl fall in love around here, other people usually respect their feelings and leave them alone. Key - F

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	30	22*	28	50**	29	30	22*	36	45**	32.2
T	5	2	3	2	2	1	2	1	4	38.6

75. Many of the teachers know a great deal about things other than what they cover in their subject in class. Key - F

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	GAAS
S	3	10	2	9	6	0	5	7	1	4.7
T	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	3.5

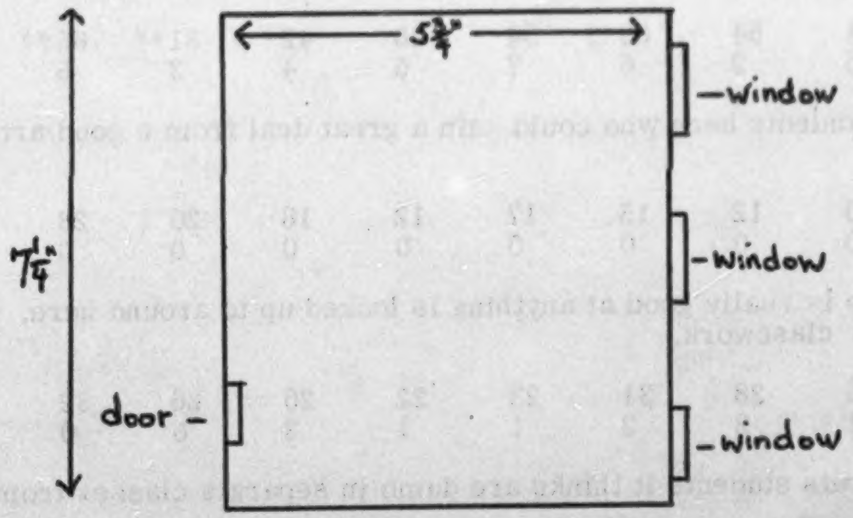
On the completion of Item #75 the subject was asked to skip 15 spaces on his answer sheet, and then answer Items #91 through 180 of the Stern High School Characteristics Index (1158), using the same instructions as before. These items were scored for Ressentiment according to the key, below.

Item #	Key	Item	Key	Item	Key	Item	Key
91	T	117	T	140	T	159	F
92	T	119	F	141	F	160	T
93	T	121	T	142	T	161	F
96	T	123	T	144	T	162	T
99	T	125	T	145	T	163	F
100	T	127	T	148	F	164	F
105	F	128	F	149	F	165	T
107	T	130	T	150	T	167	T
108	T	131	T	151	F	168	F
110	T	132	T	152	F	171	T
111	T	133	T	153	T	173	T
112	T	135	T	154	T	174	F
113	T	136	T	156	T	175	F
114	T	137	T	157	F	177	F
115	T	139	T	158	T	180	T

B. THE NON-VERBAL TEST

The respondent is next given a sheet of paper with the following instructions and information:

Imagine that we are going to have a new High School in the community and that you have been asked to submit a design for the Social Studies class room that you will spend most of your time in. In the space below roughly sketch in this ideal classroom - please be sure to label all the important areas and details.



C. THE BEST-THING-WORST-THING TEST

Then, on turning the page, the respondent receives the instructions for the Best Thing, and on the next page, following, the Worst Thing. In each case he is given a space approximately 8"x 8" for his answer. The instructions are:

In the space below briefly describe the best thing that ever happened to you in high school. Don't think about it too deeply ... just put down the first thing that comes into your mind.

and:

In the space below briefly describe the worst thing that ever happened to you in high school. Don't think about it too deeply ... just put down the first thing that comes into your mind.

D. THE HIGH SCHOOL RESSENTIMENT ACTIVITIES INDEX

After completing the Best-Thing-Worst-Thing, the respondent returns to the eximination and is asked to complete Items #181 through 240 of the Stern Activities Index (Form 1158). The instructions follow those of Professor Stern, and state:

The statements that follow describe many kinds of activities. You will like some of these things. They will seem more pleasant than unpleasant to you, perhaps even highly enjoyable. There will be others that you will dislike, finding them more unpleasant than pleasant. The activities listed in the booklet have been obtained from a great many different persons. People differ in the kinds of things they enjoy, like to do, or find pleasant to experience. You have to decide which of these you like and which you dislike.

DIRECTIONS: Your name and the information called for should already be on the special answer sheet. Start with statement number 181 and continue to statement number 240. As you read each item, blacken space:

T---if the item describes an activity or event that you would LIKE, enjoy, or find more pleasant than unpleasant.

F---if the item describes an activity or event that you would DISLIKE, reject, or find more unpleasant than pleasant.

Be sure to fill in the whole space between the dotted lines with a heavy black mark, using the special pencil provided. You need not spend too much time on any one item; go through the list quickly, being sure to answer every time. Do not make any marks in this booklet.

In scoring this Index, twenty-six of the 60 items are keyed as giving evidence of Ressentiment, or as the opposite. It is these items which provide us with some measure of the degree to which respondents accept Ressentiment. Again, as the test from which these items are drawn is standardized and has a much wider purpose, it is not reproduced. Copies can be obtained from the Psychological Research Center, Syracuse University. The key given below, of course, does not necessarily coincide with that used conventionally for the instrument.

Item	Key	Item	Key	Item	Key	Item	Key
181	T	189	T	210	F	225	T
182	T	190	F	216	T	226	F
183	T	192	F	217	F	228	F
185	T	195	T	218	T	232	T
186	F	196	F	219	F	239	F
187	T	198	F	221	T	239	T
188	F	202	T				

Appendix B

Phase II Testing - The Q Sorts

EPISODE I - THE CLARK BARTO INCIDENT

Suppose that your school is strict in enforcing the rule against students smoking in washrooms. The following incident takes place:

Mr. Arthur Clarke, a social studies teacher at your school, is taking his mid-morning coffee break. On entering a men's washroom he discovers Johnny Barto, a Junior, and a somewhat notorious character around the school, smoking. Mr. Clarke knows that Johnny should be in class this hour and furthermore, that he is a troublemaker, is having difficulty with his courses, is on probation, and that he is old enough to quit school. While Mr. Clarke and Johnny are approximately the same size, Johnny is not very strong. His whole attitude, though, is one of arrogance, as if to say, "Show me, Buddy."

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Turn to the cards you have been given for Test #I. On these cards you will find stated nine (9) possible actions which Mr. Clarke might have carried out on discovering Johnny. While it is also true that he might have undertaken to perform a combination of these, or might also have done something entirely different, disregard this. For the moment, think only in terms of each of these as separate and alternative actions. You will have sufficient opportunity, after completing the test, to discuss the adequacy of these separate actions. Please read all the cards through thoughtfully. Then, having read them through:

1. **Select the three cards which, you feel, represent the best actions that could have been taken under the circumstances at that time.**
2. **From these three, select the one which, you feel, would be best of all.**
3. **Returning to the cards remaining, select the three cards which, you feel, represent the worst actions that could have been taken under the circumstances at that time.**
4. **From these three, select the one action which, you feel, would be worst of all.**

You should now have the cards for Test #I arranged symmetrically in piles of 1, 2, 3, 2, 1, along an axis indicating the significance you would attach to them. Now, turn to the test entitled, "The LeMoyen Basketball Team," Test #II, and complete it.

1. **Mr. Clarke orders Johnny to put the cigarette out and return to class. Johnny responds by taking a swing at Clarke. Clarke, angry himself now, knocks Johnny down. Afterwards, he helps Johnny to his feet, apologizes for his anger, but warns Johnny he will report him if he catches him smoking illegally again.**

2. To teach Johnny a lesson Mr. Clarke strikes him several times. This he does cooly and with emotional restraint. After finishing, he gives Johnny a lecture, telling him what happens to young men like him when they don't mend their ways.

3. Mr. Clarke orders Johnny to report to his (Clarke's) classroom the next period. At that time Clarke describes the incident to the class, and then orders Johnny to apologize to the students for having brought the good name of the school into disrepute. After the apology, Mr. Clarke asks the class members to suggest appropriate punishment for Johnny. This is all presented as a kind of object lesson in social studies.

4. Mr. Clarke takes Johnny to the Principal's office and turns him over to the person on duty there for punishment. He also requests of the office that it notify him as to the nature and severity of the punishment to be administered to Johnny.

5. Mr. Clarke reports Johnny to the Student Court at their meeting that evening. At the time he calls on the officers of the Court to remember their responsibility for the maintenance of order in the school, warns them not to be swayed by sentiment, and then requests that suitable punishment be administered.

6. Mr. Clarke calls Johnny's parents, describes the incident to them, informs them of the the seriousness of the offense, and suggests that they take appropriate measures to get Johnny in line. He also warns them that if they do not succeed, it will reflect against Johnny.

7. Mr. Clarke has Johnny report for after-school detention, at which time he (Clarke) has Johnny write the following statement on the blackboard 500 times: "I, Johnny Barto, am sorry and will never smoke in school again."

8. At the faculty meeting that afternoon, Mr. Clarke discusses the "Johnny Barto" problem with the school psychologist and the school psychologist agrees to set up a counseling program designed to get at Johnny's "anti-social" behavior and straighten him out. The psychologist then calls Johnny in for counseling.

9. Mr. Clarke acts as if he hadn't noticed Johnny and leaves the washroom as soon as possible.

EPISODE II - THE LeMOYEN BASKETBALL TEAM

At LeMoyen High School, about a fifth of the students are Negro; the rest include young people of Irish, Italian, and Eastern European descent - the latter, chiefly of the Jewish faith - as well as some students from families that migrated from Northern Europe several generations back, and think of themselves as just Americans. Because of the way the neighborhood served by LeMoyen High School has developed, the Negro students come from homes in which the father on the average, earns more money and has had more years of education than the fathers of the average white students at LeMoyen, who are mostly from working-class families.

For the past two years LeMoyen has had the best basketball team anywhere around and has won the regional championship. The seventeen-man squad has ten Negroes on it, and five boys from Irish families. Three of the four regular starters on the highly successful team are Negro players, while the fourth is a white student named Johnny Adams. The coach, Mr. Regan, who also teaches shop, passes the fifth starting position around among the Irish lads on his bench. There has never been a Jewish boy on the basketball team at LeMoyen. Mr. Regan says the Jewish boys are "fine students, but too short to make good ball players."

This year, there transferred into LeMoyen, as a Junior, a boy from an Irish background whose father was recently sent to the community as director of plant operations from the oil refinery that is by far the biggest industry in town. The only LeMoyen student this boy, Kevin McGuire, knew before he came to town was Grant Eubanks, the captain of the basketball team and the son of a Negro physician who is the chief heart specialist at the local Veterans' Hospital. The two met at a camp in France where students from other countries go to spend the summer, and work with French people and get to know them. McGuire, who as a sophomore was already a basketball star at his old high school, was drawn to Eubanks by the game; during the summer, they taught about 50 kids of various nationalities, who had never seen a game, to play fairly good basketball. Eubanks has told Mr. Regan that the six-foot five McGuire is without a doubt the best basketball player ever to come anywhere near LeMoyen, and that they must get him on the team. At this moment, McGuire is driving over to the gym to try out for the team, and Mr. Regan is trying to decide what to do next.

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Turn to the cards you have been given for Test #II. On these cards you will find nine (9) comments concerning Mr. Regan's problem about Kevin McGuire. For the moment, think of each of these comments as being separate and distinct from the others. Again, do not concern yourself about comments you might think of that are not covered by these nine, for you will have ample opportunity to discuss your own ideas about the situation after you have completed the test. Please read all the cards through thoughtfully. Then, having read them through:

1. Select the three cards which, you feel, represent the best comments on the situation described.
2. From these three, select the one comment which, you feel, would be best of all.
3. Returning to the cards remaining, select the three cards which, you feel, represent the worst comments on the situation described.
4. From these three, select the one comment which, you feel, is the worst of all.

You should now have the cards for Test #II arranged symmetrically in piles of 1, 2, 3, 2, 1 along an axis indicating the significance you would attach to them. Now, report your results on the two tests, I and II, to the person administering the test.

1. The only important thing for Mr. Regan to consider is whether McGuire is as good a player as Eubanks thinks he is. This is what should determine whether a boy gets on the team; the rest of the story is irrelevant.
2. If he doesn't want things to get out of hand, Mr. Regan had better take a good, hard look now at what basketball is being used for at LeMoyen. The business of a high-school basketball coach isn't to win games, but to give every boy his fair chance to participate, even if he isn't such an expert.
3. If Mr. Regan is the kind of coach who puts competence above race or religion, he and the LeMoyen team will surely welcome young McGuire with unmixed delight.
4. There doesn't seem to be too much of a moral issue here, but, politically, Mr. Regan is certainly on the spot.
5. Mr. Regan might find it very helpful if it were pointed out to him that letting young McGuire join the team would not really be in the best interests of either the boy or the school. Having the richest boy in school as a star athlete as well would be very likely to lead the basketball team to think of itself as a group of privileged characters which, under the particular circumstances described, would be most unfortunate.
6. Mr. Regan is being offered another top-flight player who comes sponsored by his captain and has the same national background as the boys on the team who haven't been doing so well. McGuire sounds like just what he needs.
7. A basketball team is an official school organization, and official school organizations should be representative. It is the responsibility of the principal and the Board to see to it that the basketball coach - no matter who he is - runs the team for the benefit of the whole school and not as his private club.

8. It is too risky to take McGuire on the team, especially if he is as good as Eubanks says he is. Coming from a rich home, and as Eubanks' friend, it would be the last straw for the poor Irish boys. You can't really expect them to take a thing like that. A team may like to have stars, but it needs its back bench, too.

9. This story shows how two boys who share the same skill and enthusiasm in sports and general social background can accept each other as individuals, without getting involved in an irrelevant racial issue. Their problem now is just to finish what they have started; Mr. Regan will be risking upsetting his team by letting McGuire on it; but if he is really a good teacher and a good man he must do it.

EPISODE III - THE LeMOYEN DANCE

The Student Council at LeMoyen High School is planning the annual Spring Dance. This event is held in the high school auditorium, and about one fourth of the cost of it is covered by a subsidy from the school. The rest of the money must be raised by selling "bids" (or admission tickets) and refreshments. The dance has been held every year for the past six years and has become more and more popular each year. It is open to any LeMoyen student. Bids are generally $1. 50 per couple, or $1 stag. Refreshments have consisted of hot dogs, hamburgers, and pizza slices at 35¢ each, and soft drinks at a quarter. The music for the dance is recorded. Last year, a large proportion of the junior and senior classes attended the dance - over three hundred couples and about seventy-five stags. Except for an occasional girl dated by an older boy, freshmen and sophomores rarely attend.

However, last year's dance was marred by the obstreperous behavior of several stags who appeared to have drunk their fill, and whom the teachers designated to act as chaperones were unable to keep at bay. Afterwards, a rumor went around the school that these boys had been "troublemakers" from the school's vocational track, though vocational students have generally supported the Spring Dance enthusiastically. "They get so much out of it," Miss Leigh, the Speech and Drama teacher who has served as chaperone since the first dance was held, had earlier observed, "It's the one big event of the year for them." And, in fact, the only students who were actually identified as contributing to the disorder that broke out on the floor were seniors, now in college, who the Dean of Boys reported sadly to Miss Leigh afterwards "come from some of the finest homes in the city - I never thought I would have to call them into the office." "I'm sorry, sir," one of these boys told the Dean, "we didn't particularly want to spoil anybody's good time, but the whole thing was so jammed you couldn't move, and it has gotten so corny it didn't even seem real. I mean, like we go to dances all the time, and, you know."

Though the Dean accepted this explanation and let the boys off with a reprimand, pointing out to them that their conduct had shown them to be deficient in just the qualities of leadership he had counted on them to have, the Student Council is anxious to avoid any repetition of the disaster this year. Accordingly, one faction of the students on the Council has proposed a radical revision of the plans. These suggest that the price of the bids be raised to $7. 50, a couple or stag, and that the cost of the refreshments be included. For this money, they calculated that they could provide a tempting cold buffet, or smorgasbord, and that they could also hire a small orchestra that the school jazz club has said is the coolest in town. Although the Student Council has final responsibility for planning the dance, it has held a survey of school opinion to guide it in reaching a decision. The survey indicates:

1. A majority of the entire student body oppose the new, more expensive plan.

2. A small majority of the students who attended last year's dance, however, favor the new plan.

3. Enough students indicated that they would still attend if the price of bids was raised to $7. 50, with supper included, to give a predicted attendance of about a hundred couples. This is enough, by a wide margin, to pay for the dance.

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Turn to the cards you have been given for Test #III. On these cards, you will find nine (9) comments concerning the proposal before the Student Council for the Spring Dance. As before, you will have ample opportunity, after completing the test, to discuss these comments in detail. Please read all the cards through thoughtfully. Then, having read them through:

1. Select the three cards which, you feel, represent the best comments on the proposal for the Spring Dance.

2. From these three, select the one comment which, you feel, would be best of all.

3. Returning to the cards remaining, select the three cards which, you feel, represent the worst comments on the proposal for the Spring Dance.

4. From these three, select the one comment which, you feel, is the worst of all.

You should now have the cards for Test #III arranged symmetrically in piles of 1, 2, 3, 2, 1 along an axis indicating the significance you would attach to them. Now, turn to the test entitled, "The King's Visit," Test #IV, and complete it.

1. It is hard to see how the Student Council can persist with such an undemocratic plan, when their own study shows that a majority of the student body oppose it. It is their duty as elected representatives to find another, more acceptable selection.

2. It is unfortunate that the Student Council should be obliged to consider making the Spring Dance a more exclusive affair, but they may have to do it. Evidently, as the dance has gotten more and more popular, it has attracted the kind of "teen-ager" who does not know how to act at a dance. The somewhat greater formality and higher cost of attending the dance under the new proposal should limit its appeal to the kind of student who belongs there.

3. A serious disadvantage of the new plan is that some youngsters would be excluded from the Spring Dance who would enjoy it, simply because they couldn't affort it anymore. But this may be outweighed by the fact that it would be a much better dance, even if you had to save up or go without something else. If the dance is allowed to turn into a brawl or a rat-race, it isn't worth holding.

4. There is nothing undemocratic about the Student Council's new plan. A majority of the students who are qualified to pass judgment, and who have shown their interest by supporting the dance last year, approve the new plan. And it would still be open to any student who wanted to spend the money.

5. The Student Council has been left holding the bag for the Dean of Boys' reluctance to treat kids from influential families like everybody else. If he had cracked down on these boys after last year's dance, there wouldn't be any problem.

6. Everything the school sponsors is a part of its educational program, and should be open to all. It is good for the Student Council to have the experience of running the dance, as this helps them to learn to be responsible. But they must not be permitted to turn public education into an exclusive social affair.

7. Maybe the dance is pretty corny and crowded. But it wouldn't be fair to turn it into a college-type affair that most of the students would not feel at home at, especially those who have not had the advantages of the youngsters from better homes. Chaperone the dance a little more closely, if necessary, but keep it down to earth and unpretentious, the way it is now.

8. Unfortunately, the Student Council is not the proper body to get to the root of a problem like this. Youngsters have to learn - sometimes the hard way - to bear the responsibility for their own misconduct. The school authorities should suspend the dance for a year, to teach the students that the privilege of holding it depends on their power to discipline their own conduct. This is a far more important question

than what kind of a dance they have.

9. If you are planning a dance, the first consideration is to make it a good one. Dances don't break up into brawls unless the kids are pretty bored with them. The new plan would make this a really enjoyable occasion, and might especially benefit the less privileged kids, who can get awfully tired, too, of cheap, commonplace institutionalized entertainment.

EPISODE IV - THE KING'S VISIT

Several weeks ago, the Governor wrote the Principal of LeMoyen High School to tell him about the impending visit to Capital City of the King of a country not unlike Denmark and of the King's notable interest in spirited young people. He also informed the Principal of the King's expressed desire to meet with some interesting and representative high school students during his visit. The Governor then went on to say that he had selected LeMoyen as one of the ten high schools chosen from throughout the state which were to pick several students to meet with the King when he visits the Governor at the executive mansion. The Governor added that the King speaks English fluently and then concluded with the suggestion that such young people as were to be chosen should be persons to whom the school could point with pride as expressing what was finest and best about their school.

At LeMoyen, where such things are always done as democratically as possible, the students were to have a voice in the choice. First, nine individuals and groups were nominated by a committee composed jointly of faculty members and students with the Dean of Men, Mr. Blakely, serving as Chairman. These nine were to stand for election as candicates for the post of school representative (or representatives). The student body was to choose from this list of nine the person or persons they thought would best represent them at the meeting with the King. This vote was not conclusive, however, but was primarily advisory, for the Principal reserved the right to make the final nomination for the school, guiding himself in his choice by the committee recommendations and the student vote.

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The committee has just acted and the nine candidates have been chosen. Each of the nine cards you have been given for Test #IV describe one of the nine candidates or groups of candidates selected. Please read the descriptions on all the cards through thoughtfully. Then, having read them through:

1. Select the three cards which, you feel, describe the persons who would best represent the school at the meeting with the King.
2. From these three, select the one person or group who, you feel, would be best of all in this role.
3. Returning to the cards remaining, select the three cards which, you feel, describe the persons least suited to represent the school at the meeting with the King.
4. From these three, select the one person or group who, you feel, would be worst of all in this role.

You should now have the cards for Test #IV arranged symmetrically in piles of 1, 2, 3, 2, 1 along an axis indicating the significance you attach to them. Now, report your results on the two tests, III and IV, to the person administering the test.

1. Nancy Harris.

Nancy Harris is a violinist. This year she has been accorded the signal honor of being first violinist and concert master of the all-state orchestra. She has also performed as soloist for several of the local symphony orchestras. Nancy is gifted with artistic sensibility and quickness in all things. She is a very good student, and still manages to keep her course work up while practicing three or four hours a day. Unfortunately, her schedule does not allow her much opportunity for social activity, which is too bad because she is really an attractive young lady who, with a little effort, could easily be very popular. But her enthusiasms are more for things than for people and she prefers artistic creation to success with her fellow students.

2. Eric Pratt.

Everybody at LeMoyen loves Eric Pratt. He's cool. He has a great line and really knows how to make the girls happy. He's always lots of fun, anywhere, anytime. He's up on the latest record, in with the newest fad, and on to the easiest way to do the hard things. Eric's sharp, he sure is, you should see the way he dresses. Man, you should see. If you had money like Eric has you could pay for the clothes, but I'll bet you couldn't get it right, most likely you wouldn't. It's something you've got to know how to do, and Eric does. He's got style in everything he does. Don't get the idea that this kid's just popular with the gang, though. He's more than that. The teachers think he's great, too, especially the women teachers. He knows how to talk to them, and make them love him, and make them do anything he wants them to do.

3. Elfrieda Eubanks.

Elfrieda Eubanks is so sweet you couldn't help liking her, and everybody at LeMoyen does. She's president of the Girls' Athletic Association and a sure thing for the Chamber of Commerce's best All-Around Girl award this spring. Elfrieda is tall, slender, and very graceful. She has a beautiful voice and sings regularly at several local churches. A better than average student, she's also a volunteer nurse's aide at the hospital, chairman of the school hostess club, and LeMoyen's number one cheerleader. She dances beautifully, too. One thing you can say about Elfrieda, she's always smiling, always a good guy, no matter what. That's what makes her so popular. Even her twin brother, Grant, who was the best basketball player LeMoyen had until Kevin McGuire came along, isn't as popular as Elfrieda, and that's saying something.

4. Johnny Adams.

Johnny Adams is something of an enigma. It isn't easy to figure out how he managed to make the basketball team. He's not big and he's not fast. It's not clear why he wanted to, either. He doesn't hang around with the fellows on the team. The kids he runs around with are what are called beatniks at LeMoyen, the kind, you know, who usually don't care about things like sports and dances. But when Johnny decided he wanted to make the team, he did. He has drive, and he's smart, too. If he wanted to, he's one fellow who could give Karen Clarke or Scott Cowen a real run for it academically. But most of the time he doesn't feel like it. When he does, though, watch out. It was a big surprise, last year, when he won the veterans' club oratorical contest. He did it against odds, too. No one would ever call him good looking, he has a sort of squeaky voice, and most of the time he could use a haircut and shave. He's not always an easy guy to be with, either. Still, he took on the best the county had to offer and showed them all how to do it.

5. Ronnie, Big Joe and Pink.

Ronnie, Big Joe and Pink have just cut their second platter. Known as the Combo, they play and sing with a fast, easy beat that's sometimes subtle and sometimes frantic. It's easy to like, too. The Combo is so good, actually, that it was featured on a coast to coast TV network last month. About the members of the Combo, well, they're not just ordinary: Big Joe, Joe White, that is, is the first Negro ever to be elected President of the school honor society. Pincus Peabody is going to a music school in New York on a scholarship next year. He's quite a composer and works up the arrangements for the Combo. He can write in the classical mood also and is the composer of the violin sonatina Nancy Harris is planning to play at graduation. One can't say too much for Ronnie, though, except that he organized the Combo and writes the lyrics. And really, the lyrics are great, they have a twist to them that gives them class, something like the Kingston Trio, and still it's different.

6. Karen Clarke.

Karen Clarke will be giving the valedictory at graduation for this year's class. As she should. Always well groomed and polite she is completely in command of herself in any situation. She is the perfect model of what a high school student ought to be. Her work is neat, correct, and unlike so many other students, in on time. It really has to be because her dad, Mr. Clarke, teaches here and he makes sure Karen doesn't get any special favors. He makes certain that she stands up for herself and does her work. In student activities she is Treasurer of the Senior Class. She is also a teacher's aide for Mr. Pottitone's chemistry laboratory and a member of the Ethics Committee of the Student Government. Where others are concerned, Karen always tries to be helpful. She wants to go to a good college like Vassar or Smith, and plans everything she does carefully, with this in mind. At LeMoyen everybody feels that she has a real chance to get into the kind of a college she would like to go to.

7. Mill and Jill Bernstein.

Mill and Jill Bernstein are two of the craziest kids you can imagine, crazy in a great way, that is. While they aren't really twins they look so much alike that they might as well be. It really gets you, you never know which one you're talking to, and they are always pulling gags on people that way. They've got so much talent they can do anything, and almost do. They both play instruments in the band, they have their own vocal duet, and they are really wonderful with their mimicry. They are a must at any party because they usually make it go. At LeMoyen, they're for the school all the way, the real boosters. They're the in-everything girls, cheer-leading, the school paper, debating, the works. They also run everything; they should, too, because they get things done. Right now Mill is organizing the Senior Class trip, and Jill is chairing the Junior Clam-Bake Committee. LeMoyen has a lot to thank Mill and Jill for, and it's going to remember them for a long time.

8. Nicky Galetti.

For the past three years the right side of the line of the LeMoyen football team has been practically impregnable. The reason is right tackle, Nicky Galetti, two hundred and twenty pounds of solid bone and muscle. Nicky is a great team man, hard working and loyal, and never an angry word. This year Nicky played every minute of every game, except for the last two in the game with City High. It was really Nick's game, and against LeMoyen's traditional foes, too. Nicky led the offense, and on defense, he was, as usual, the key man. Unfortunately, LeMoyen's backfield was weak this year, and the game was scoreless until the last few minutes when Nicky blocked a City punt. Joe White recovered it for a touchdown. Everybody felt that it was too bad that it wasn't Nicky, just so he could have scored at least once. When the coach took him out a few minutes later, the stands went mad cheering for him - a great team man if there ever was one.

9. Scott Cowen.

Scott Cowen is supposed to be a genius. When he was twelve years old his parents arranged for him to take a special course in mathematics at the university nearby and he did very well, indeed. Although all the other students in the course were either specially selected senior high school students or college freshmen, Scott came out first in the class. According to the instructor's report, "Mr. Cowen is potentially a mathematician of the first order and with proper training should be able in the future to do work of great significance." At LeMoyen, Scott has continued to do well. His entries in the Senior High School Division Science Fair won first prize both last year and this. He is a brilliant chess player and managed a draw with the state champion. And he is editor of the LeMoyen Xantippe, the school literary magazine. Scott's work at LeMoyen is always original and always competent, although it does tend to be sloppy. He's sloppy, also, in the way he dresses, and he does manage to argue with some of the teachers. If it wasn't for this he would probably be valedictorian of his class. He has the ability to be.

EPISODE V - MISS POST'S ENGLISH ASSIGNMENT

Miss Elsie Post is, by consensus, the finest teacher LeMoyen has and probably ever has had. Her subject is English, and her skill lies in drawing the best out of even the most reluctant student. Under her guidance young people develop a real interest for literature, no matter what their background, and for many of them her class is the first time in their lives in which they have attempted seriously to express their thoughts with style and distinction. Miss Post is often gay and sometimes, even frivolous while teaching, but underneath there is a resolute spirit. She is stern and surprisingly demanding in her assignments. "You know, she expects the impossible," is an often-heard student comment the first day of class. Yet, when the year is over, many own up that she'd gotten that impossible. "It makes you feel proud to do well for Miss Post," is the way Ronnie Jackson said it to Scott Cowen one day, while they were working at putting Xantippe together for publication. "Yeah," answered Scott, "I never thought I'd go for poetry and all that stuff, but after you've heard about it from her, and then read some of it, well, it's great, it's something she does that makes it real."

Miss Post is just as demanding of herself as she is of her students. She spends hours each day correcting class themes and homework assignments. And she has a reputation for uncovering each and every error the thoughtless, ignorant, or deceitful student has let slip into his work, this despite her advanced age and notably weak eyesight. Her comments on the papers are in themselves something of a form of art, always precise and to the point, and yet affectionate, amusing, interesting and where necessary, devastating. As the students at LeMoyen soon discover, Miss Post is not an easy person to fool.

Miss Post has taught at LeMoyen for many, many years. A number of the parents of the present student body had her as a teacher when they attended LeMoyen, and they always seem to remember her much as she is today. However, Eric Pratt, exercising a scientific bent he generally kept well under wraps, found her picture in the 1934 annual, and announced, much to his surprise he claimed, that she had once been a most attractive young lady. After Eric's discovery had gained currency throughout the school, rumors of a tragic love were rife around LeMoyen, but nothing was ever proven. Whatever her private life though, Miss Post must always have been a very good teacher. For, only last summer while attending a summer basketball clinic at a famous eastern university, Mr. Regan met an eminent scientist who, on hearing of LeMoyen, asked about Miss Elsie Post, his once upon a time teacher. The scientist then went on to say that she was the finest teacher he had ever had, bar none, and this despite his many years of education in college and graduate school.

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Assume that you are a student in Miss Post's class. Today she told her class that each member was to bring to class tomorrow several lines of poetry which he felt best expressed what love means to him. She indicated that the students would be expected to read and discuss their selections in class the next day. Assume further that it is evening, and you have come up with nine possible selections. The nine cards you have been given for Test #V are the nine selections we will assume you have found. As usual, you will have ample opportunity to discuss these selections later. Please read all of these cards through thoughtfully. Then, having read them through:

1. Select the three cards which, you feel, have poems which best express what love means to you.

2. From these three, select the one poem which, you feel, would be best of all.

3. Returning to the cards remaining, select the three cards which you feel, have poems which express least or possibly even the opposite of what love means to you.

4. From these three, select the one poem which you feel is worst of all.

You should now have the cards for Text #V arranged symmetrically in piles of 1, 2, 3, 2, 1 along an axis indicating the significance you would attach to them. Now, turn to the test entitled, "Alan Slade and His Friends," Test #VI, and complete it.

1. Yet in herself she dwelleth not,
Although no home were half so fair;
No simplest duty is forgot,
Life hath no dim and lowly spot
That doth not in her sunshine share.

She doeth little kindnesses,
Which most leave undone, or despise;
For naught that sets one heart at ease,
And giveth happiness or peace,
Is low-esteemed in her eyes.

She hath no scorn of common things,
And, though she seems of other birth,
Round us her heart intwines and clings,
And patiently she folds her wings
To tread the humble path of earth.

2. True love's the gift which God has given
To man alone beneath the heaven;
It is not fantasy's hot fire,
Whose wishes, soon as granted, fly;
It liveth not in fierce desire,
With dead desire it doth not lie;
It is the secret sympathy,
The silver link, the silken tie,
Which heart to heart and mind to mind
In body and in soul can bind.

3. No man is an island,
No man stands alone,
Each man's joy is joy to me,
Each man's joy is his own.
We need one another
So I will defend
Each man as my brother,
Each man as my friend. *

4. No thorns go as deep as the rose's
And love is more cruel than lust,
Time turns the old days to derision,
Our loves into corpses or wives;
And marriage and death and division
Make barren our lives.

5. When our two souls stand up erect and strong
Face to face, silent, drawing nigh and nigher.

6. He prayeth best who loveth best
All things both great and small;
For the dear God who loveth us,
He made and loveth all.

7. Breathes there a man, with soul so dead,
Who never to himself hath said,
    This is my own, my native land!
Whose heart hath ne'er within him burn'd
As home his footsteps he hath turned,
    From wanderings on a foreign strand?

8. There is a pleasure in the pathless woods,
There is a rapture on the lonely shore,
There is a society, where none intrudes,
By the deep sea and music in its roar;
I love not man the less, but Nature more.

9. Ah, love, let us be true
To one another! for the world, *which seems*
To lie before us like a land of dreams,
So various, so beautiful, so new,
Hath really neither joy, nor love, nor light,
Nor certitude, nor peace, nor help for pain;
And we are here as on a darkling plain
Swept with confused alarms of struggle and flight
Where ignorant armies clash by night.

EPISODE VI - ALAN SLADE AND HIS FRIENDS

Early in his senior year, Alan Slade, a short, well proportioned boy who is captain of the tennis team at LeMoyen High School, and has been an honor student through his whole high school career, began to run into trouble. His grades have fallen off sharply, though they are levelling off at a point well above passing. He has been seen around town in one or two taverns that have records of violating the law against selling liquor to minors, and which the principal of the school has been trying unsuccessfully to have permanently closed. He was picked up a few weeks ago for drunken driving, but the lab test showed an alcohol content just below that necessary to establish intoxication. His father, a lawyer with a reputation for sharp legal technique was quick to point this out and prevented the boy from being formally charged. But he also forbade him the use of either of the Slade cars for an indefinite period, until "he got himself straightened out." Not being able to drive now, Alan seems to spend most of his time hanging around the house or a candy store near the school that few students patronize, not doing much of anything. His tennis game is shot, and so are LeMoyen's chances for the year.

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* ©Copyright 1950 Bourne, Inc. Used by permission. This text differs slightly, from the song text. In the popular song, line four reads "Each man's grief is my own." This did not seem to deter our respondents, except for one young lady from Haven crest who remembered the correct version from chorus and did not like it. She is the same young lady who thought of Elfrieda Eubanks as "simply too sincere to be real."

Nobody seems to know just how Alan's trouble started, though Monica St. Loup, another senior who is a cheer leader and president of the girls' Pan-Hellenic council, has hinted to several of her intimate friends that she does know, although she would rather not talk about it. She did, however, overcome her aversion to doing so long enough to go to Mr. Blakely, the Dean of Boys, and plead for help for Alan before any one else had even noticed that there was anything wrong with him. Despite his encouragements - "The kids all know my door is always open," Mr. Blakely has often said - not many LeMoyen students feel free to go to the Dean unless sent for. But the Dean of Boys, is also, ex officio, in charge of student activities at LeMoyen. Mr. Blakely's admiration for Monica St. Loup is well known in the school. "Monica is about as close to an All-American girl as you can get," Mr. Blakely observed once. "Pretty as a picture; smart, too; any group she's in seems always to have a lot of fun. But her mother doesn't have to worry about her a bit; Monica can be trusted. She knows just how far she can go and not lose her self-respect. If this school had more like her, my job would be easy."

It was to Mr. Blakely, then, that Monica turned; not on her own behalf, but on that of Alan Slade. The discussion was, of course, confidential; but immediately afterward Mr. Blakely sent, separately, for Johnny Barto, a junior with a bad reputation in school as a troublemaker, and for Alan. Mr. Blakely took no formal action, but when Johnny left school that day, he never came back. Some of the kids say he has left town; he has certainly not been seen around school. To Alan, Mr. Blakely spoke gently but firmly, if somewhat ambiguously. "I'm here to help you, son," he said, "I think you know that. This kind of situation isn't a disciplinary matter; intelligent people don't think of it that way any more, really. But you do need professional help. During the year, you'll be applying for college; then there's the army to think of; these people count on us to be honest with them about the emotional adjustment of our students. You have such a good record here, Alan, and I'm going to see to it that you don't spoil it. I don't even want you to worry about it, son; normal growth is our business."

Mr. Blakely's tone became less warm, however, when Alan insisted, and continued to insist more and more anxiously, that he did not understand what Mr. Blakely was talking about. "It would be better, son," said Mr. Blakely, "if you could trust me. It would be better if you could trust yourself; the only way out is to face up to this like the man we hope you will become. The first step is to be absolutely honest; and that is what you'll have to do. I'll tell you what we'll do. I'm going to set up an appointment for you with Dr. Bruch (the visiting school psychiatrist for the LeMoyen district) when he comes next month. I'm not a psychiatrist, and I don't pretend to be. But I am Dean of Boys, here; and I am responsible for your well being and for that of the other boys you are in contact with here. Until we get this report--and I'm afraid Dr. Bruch is a pretty busy man--I'll do what I can for you. Meanwhile, don't worry."

This was three months ago. Whether Alan took Mr. Blakely's advice not to worry or not he is, as has been stated, in trouble now. Dr. Bruch's report, when received, recommended regular psychotherapy; but the school has no program for providing this. Mr. and Mrs. Slade, when Mr. Blakely told them of Dr. Bruch's recommendation, were uncooperative and ungrateful. "I'm afraid you interpret your responsibility and your mandate both too broadly and too loosely," Mr. Slade replied. "I'm not certain that I know what you are talking about any better than Alan does; but if I do I can well understand your vagueness; since you are quite right in supposing that a more forthright statement would be libelous." "If we should think - as we do not - that our son needed psychiatric help," Mrs. Slade added, "we would send him to our own analyst. Dr. Liebig has kept our marriage going for twenty years, which is a tribute to his competence if not to his judgment. We know that Alan has been miserable at school this year, and we have been worried sick about him; but we didn't know what was wrong and he doesn't seem to be able to tell us. Now that you've told us what you've put him through, we can begin to understand it. All we ask of you is that you attend to his education, which seemed to be going pretty well, by your own account, until you brought all this up."

Here, however, Mr. Blakely was adamant. His responsibility, he said, extended to all aspects of the welfare of LeMoyen boys, while they were in school. Mr. and Mrs. Slade could ignore Dr. Bruch's recommendation if they chose; but if they did he would insist that Alan report to him for a weekly conference, at which "I'll try to help him as much as he will let me." Otherwise, he would be forced to recommend to the Principal that young Slade be suspended from school, "without prejudice, for reasons of health." So far, there have been six of these conferences. During them, after polite greetings, Alan sits silently, while Mr. Blakely waits patiently "for you to get tired, Alan, of your resistance."

No one at LeMoyen supposes that Monica St. Loup asked Mr. Blakely to help Johnny Barto also. Nor did she. Monica's usually inexhaustible good will never extended to young Barto, except for a brief period early last year when Monica did try to take an interest in him. "He could amount to something, you know," she said to one of her sorority sisters who had warned her against getting "mixed up" with Johnny. "He's bright, even if he is a couple of years older than the other boys in his class. That's just his background. And he's attractive, in a kind of feline way, like a tiger. He could learn, if he had somebody to take him in hand. Don't worry about me. It's Alan you ought to be worrying about. He's such a sweet boy; and so shy; I really wish I knew how to help him. I've tried, but I can't seem to reach him, somehow. I'm sure he hasn't any idea what he's getting into."

But Monica had no more success with Johnny than with Alan. The two boys were discussing her, rather casually, late one night during a camping trip, which they often took together. "You watch out for her, Shrimpboat," Johnny told Alan. "She isn't what she thinks she is. Oh, she's all for good, clean fun, and no passes accepted. But just fail to make them when she expects them, and see what happens. I know."

Monica was not the only one who disapproved of the friendship between the two boys. Mrs. Slade had also complained about it to her husband, but he had disagreed with her. "I can't go along with that, dear," he said, "If you'll remember, Johnny's grandfather just about got my career started for me; though if Johnny knows it, he never said anything to Alan. There was always a streak of the gentleman in those Bartos. Oh, they have no talent for legitimacy, and the whole line has just gone to hell since repeal; it was probably a blessing the old got bumped off when he did. There was nothing any lawyer could have done for Johnny's father; and I'm glad he didn't come to me. But there's plenty of people jumped all over the boy since he's been down; and you know, I don't think we'd like to join them. Alan can take care of himself as well as I could at his age; and he'll have to, won't he, against people more dangerous than Johnny Barto?"

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Turn to the cards you have been given for Text #VI. On these cards you will find nine (9) comments concerning Alan Slade's situation. As before, you will have ample opportunity, after completing the test, to discuss these comments in details. Please read all the cards through thoughtfully. Then, having read them through:

1. Select the three cards which, you feel, represent the best comments on the incident.

2. From these three, select the one comment which, you feel, would be best of all.

3. Returning to the cards remaining, select the three cards which, you feel, represent the worst comments on the incident.

4. From these three, select the one comment which, you feel, is the worst of all.

You should now have the cards for Test #VI arranged symmetrically in piles of 1, 2, 3, 2, 1 along an axis indicating the significance you would attach to them. Now, report the results on the two tests, V and VI, to the person administering the test.

1. Bad off as he seems to be, the root of Alan's trouble is probably basically self-pity. Certainly, he is lucky at least to have both a friend and a counselor so devoted to helping him. If he won't let them, he can't expect things to get much better.

2. The attitude of Alan's parents illustrates how necessary it is that parents cooperate with the school, if as much as possible is to be done for students when they need help. In a world as interdependent as ours, the individual must cooperate with the legitimate institutions of society if progress is to be made.

3. Neurotic parents rear neurotic children, this is the iron law of psychoanalysis. The older Slades' hostility to getting any psychiatric help for their son is but an extension of their guilt for the entire situation.

4. At the heart of Mr. Blakely's attitude is essentially middle-class prejudice. If Johnny Barto were Alan's social equal, their friendship would appear perfectly natural to him.

5. The worst thing that can be said about Mr. Blakely's policy in this case is that it is too soft and compromising. Knowing what he evidently does -- or he wouldn't have dared to go this far -- he ought to have kicked both these young punks out of town, rather than just one. Of course, under the circumstances, he has to watch his step legally.

6. Mr. Blakely seems to be on the right track; but the school's resources do not extend far enough to back him up. When the school psychiatrist recommends that a student be given psychiatric help, the school should require that he accept it and, if necessary, provide the funds for facilities to make it possible.

7. Mr. Blakely's action is both unprofessional and a gross invasion of privacy. He is allowing himself to be influenced by one student against another, has used his office to break up a private friendship between two students and done grave injury to both. To call this "helping" is either hypocrisy or lunacy.

8. The most remarkable factor in the situation is the Slades' wonderfully democratic and tolerant attitude. Despite their apparent wealth and success, they recognize that a boy with Johnny's background should be encouraged to make something out of himself and despite their misgivings, permit their son to befriend him closely. This is the kind of thing that America means.

9. The most hopeful factor in the situation, so far as Alan is concerned, is that his parents basically respect and care for him so much, and can still say no when they have to, both to him and to the school authorities. Nobody is proof against fools, busybodies, or a woman scorned; but with this kind of home life to draw on, Alan will probably come through, scars and all.

Appendix C

Tables and Charts

Table I-a: Data on Subjects Participating in Phase I of the Testing. Basic data on subjects.

School	Student Respondents			Year in School					Mean
	M	F	Total	9	10	11	12	Unk	Year
Parma	48	52	100	0	56	24	20	0	10. 5
Hartsburgh	49	48	97	0	31	32	34	0	11. 0
Milgrim	48	46	94	0	43	33	18	0	10. 7
Martingale	49	55	104	0	38	35	29	2	10. 9
Caddo	42	52	94	3	32	31	28	0	10. 8
Delphi	59	53	112	0	36	44	27	5	10. 9
Havencrest	48	52	100	0	30	34	36	0	11. 1
Ipswich	53	48	101	16	22	32	31	0	10. 8
St. Elmo	100	0	100	0	33	33	34	0	11. 0
All Schools	496	406	902	19	321	298	257	7	10. 9

Table I-b: Data on Subjects Participating in Phase I of the Testing. Academic data and number of teachers participating. As bases for grading vary from school to school it was not deemed wise to compute an overall average. Letter grades and numerical grades are reconciled according to the following scheme: D - 65, D+ - 68, C- - 72, C - 75, C+ - 78, B- - 82, B - 85, B+ - 88, A- - 92, A - 95.

School	Mean Age	Mean Grade	Program				# Teacher Subjects
			Aca	Com	Gen	Unk	
Parma	15.9	81.5	85	15	0	0	7
Hartsburgh	16.3	78.9	73	21	0	3	8
Milgrim	15.9	76.7	51	29	10	4	5
Martingale	16.1	77.3	65	34	2	3	6
Caddo	16.2	78.5	58	36	0	0	7
Delphi	15.9	81.5	92	4	11	5	6
Havencrest	16.0	80.3	96	4	0	0	6
Ipswich	15.9	80.2	93	2	0	6	6
St. Elmo	15.3	84.1	99	0	1	0	6
All Schools	16.0		712	144	24	22	57

Table II-a: Data on Subjects Participating in Phase II of the Testing. Basic data on subjects. 245 students completed Phase II (the Q-Sorts) of the testing. Two, one from Milgrim and one from Havencrest did not complete the testing.

School	Student Respondents				Year in School					Mean Year
	M	F	Xtra	Tot	9	10	11	12	Unk	
Parma	19	14	(4)	33	0	19	8	6	0	10.6
Hartsburgh	14	14	(3)	28	0	9	12	7	0	10.9
Milgrim	14	14	(3)	28	0	11	11	6	0	10.8
Martingale	10	15	(0)	25	0	11	6	8	0	10.9
Caddo	18	8	(1)	26	1	9	8	7	1	10.8
Delphi	16	14	(5)	30	0	7	8	10	5	11.1
Havencrest	11	14	(0)	25	0	11	6	8	0	10.9
Ipswich	17	10	(2)	27	5	4	10	8	0	10.8
St. Elmo	25	0	(0)	25	0	8	8	9	0	11.0
All Schools	144	103	(18)	247	6	89	77	69	6	10.9

Table II-b: Data on Subjects Participating in Phase II of the Testing. Academic data and number of teachers participating. As bases for grading vary from school to school it was not deemed wise to compute an overall average. Letter grades and numerical grades are reconciled according to the following scheme: D - 65, D+ - 68, C- - 72, C - 75, C+ - 78, B- - 82, B - 85, B+ - 88, A- - 92, A - 95.

School	Mean Age	Mean Grade	Program				# Teacher Subjects
			Aca	Com	Gen	Unk	
Parma	15.7	81.6	30	3	0	0	7
Hartsburgh	16.1	80.1	22	5	0	1	8
Milgrim	16.1	76.4	14	10	3	1	5
Martingale	15.3	78.2	14	11	0	0	6
Caddo	16.1	77.8	20	5	0	1	5
Delphi	16.0	81.9	21	2	2	5	6
Havencrest	15.8	79.9	24	1	0	0	6
Ipswich	15.9	80.4	24	2	0	1	6
St. Elmo	15.9	84.0	25	0	0	0	6
All Schools	16.0		194	39	5	9	55

Table III: Mean *Ressentiment* Scores for All Subjects for All Indexes. Column A is the score on the Friedenberg-Nordstrom (the F-N) *Ressentiment* Index, Column B, the score on the Stern *Ressentiment* Characteristics Index, and Column C is the mean score for the combined *Ressentiment* Indexes. Column D is the mean score for the Stern *Ressentiment* Activities Index. Column E is the mean score for Girls, and Column F, the mean score for Boys. Column G is the mean score for teacher subjects for the Combined *Ressentiment* Indexes.

Schools	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
Parma	34.4	28.7	63.1	13.7	61.9	64.4	55.0
Hartsburgh	34.2	28.9	63.1	14.0	61.9	66.3	58.9
Milgrim	38.1	31.1	69.2	13.9	68.7	69.6	64.2
Martingale	38.2	31.4	69.6	14.2	67.0	72.6	61.5
Caddo	34.3	28.7	63.0	14.2	61.8	64.6	63.1
Delphi	32.0	26.0	58.0	13.4	56.3	59.6	52.4
Havencrest	32.4	24.5	56.9	12.9	55.8	58.2	43.2
Ipswich	33.0	23.2	56.2	13.4	54.6	60.0	44.2
St. Elmo	34.0	27.2	61.2	13.9	——	61.3	61.8
All Schools			62.4		60.9	63.7	56.1

Table IV: Socio-Economic Characteristics of the Sample. All of the data contained in the following Tables Tables IV-a through IV-e are drawn from U. S. Census Tracts (1960) and refer to census districts containing major sections of the school districts reported on in this project. As boundaries of the census districts and the school districts do not coincide, these figures must be considered as, at best, approximate.

Five of the reporting schools, Parma, Hartsburgh, Milgrim, Martingale, and Caddo, being located in the same metropolitan area, constitute a directly comparable group and are reported first in each of the tables, in order of the reported Median Family Income, from the highest (Parma) to the lowest (Caddo).

Delphi and Havencrest, which are in different areas of the nation altogether, are grouped last. Havencrest is not integrated but has in the community served a Negro population approximating 20 percent. The data for these individuals who are excluded from the school system have been subtracted from the Havencrest result where practicable. This is indicated by an asterisk (*) after the Havencrest name in the relevant table.

There are, of course, no comparable data for Ipswich and St. Elmo. Based on reported father's occupation and the observations of the members of the project team who visited the institutions Ipswich is rated as above or equal to Delphi in socio-economic status. The situation at St. Elmo, with its core city location, is more complex and probably any such rating is impractical.

Table IV-a: Characteristics of Population of Census Districts containing major sections of School Districts. The percentages in each case are of the total population.

School	% White	% Negro	% Puerto Rican	% Foreign Stock	Origin of Foreign Stock as % of Foreign Stock**
Parma	98. 7	1. 2	2. 0	32. 4	Germany - 18. 1 Italy - 13. 9
Hartsburgh	99. 3	0. 6	0. 5	39. 5	Germany - 17. 4 Italy - 25. 9
Milgrim	96. 2	3. 8	6. 4	31. 0	Italy - 31. 6
Martingale	40. 8	59. 2	1. 6	21. 9	Germany - 20. 9
Caddo	99. 7	0. 2	0. 8	37. 6	Germany - 16. 4 Italy - 28. 9
Delphi	98. 1	1. 8	---	16. 5	---
Havencrest*	79. 0	21. 0	---	10. 7	---

Source: U. S. Census (1960)
*See introduction to Tables IV for special handling, re Havencrest.
**Where source exceeds 15%.

Table IV-b: Family Income for Census Districts

School	Poverty-Deprivation $0-4,999	Adequate 5,000-8,999	Affluent 9,000 & over	Median Family Income
Parma	15.6%	46.5%	37.9%	$7,977
Hartsburgh	24.7	45.8	29.5	6,894
Milgrim	22.6	59.9	17.5	6,458
Martingale	35.2	54.5	10.3	5,854
Caddo	36.0	49.9	14.1	5,830
Delphi	8.2	21.7	70.1	10,000+
Havencrest*	30.9	42.4	26.7	6,465

Source: U.S. Census (1960)
*Without the subtraction of the Negro population the Median Income for Havencrest is $5,932.

Table IV-c: Male Occupations for Census Districts containing School Districts. Results do not add up to 100 percent as only those reporting their occupation has been included. Unskilled work includes Laborers, service workers, household workers, and operatives. Skilled work includes craftsmen, foremen, sales workers, and clerical workers.

School	Unskilled	Skilled	Professional, Technical, & Management
Parma	20.1%	39.4%	34.7%
Hartsburgh	27.0	41.2	27.3
Milgrim	38.0	40.0	17.6
Martingale	53.7	35.8	5.7
Caddo	34.3	42.4	16.2
Delphi	8.6	29.3	57.7
Havencrest*	14.2	37.7	45.3

Source: U.S. Census (1960)
*See introduction to Table IV on Havencrest.

Table IV-d: **Educational Characteristics of Population of Census Districts containing major sections of School Districts.**

	Schools:						
Characteristics:	**Parma**	**Hartsburgh**	**Milgrim**	**Martingale**	**Caddo**	**Delphi**	**Havencrest***
High School Enrollment as Percent of 14-17 Year Olds:	88.0	94.2	83.7	64.5	91.0	89.4	88.2
Persons 25 years old or older with:							
Less than eight years of education:	8.3	12.0	13.0	22.6	18.1	6.0	8.4
One or more years of College:	28.6	17.3	10.5	7.4	8.9	53.6	28.4

Source: U.S. Census (1960).
*See Introduction on Havencrest.

Table IV-e: **Housing Characteristics of Population of Census Districts containing major sections of School Districts.**

	Schools					
Characteristics:	**Parma**	**Hartsburgh**	**Milgrim**	**Martingale**	**Caddo**	**Delphi**
Year moved to House. Number for years as a Percent of number of Occupied Units.						
1958-1960	40.4	35.6	39.9	21.6	33.8	49.4
1954-1957	29.3	30.6	41.0	32.0	33.4	28.6
1940-1953	22.0	27.2	17.2	38.8	27.3	17.8
1939 or earlier	8.4	6.5	2.7	7.7	5.5	4.4
Number of persons per room. Number of units reporting as a Percent of all occupied units:						
With .50 or less persons per room:	38.0	41.1	27.8	36.3	37.3	44.4
With 1.01 or more persons per room:	6.5	6.3	11.1	17.3	10.1	2.5

Source: U.S. Census (1960).
Data for Havencrest not available.

Table V-a: Best-Thing-Worst-Thing Test. Best factors reported most frequently by students in the various schools studied.

School	No. of Students Participating	Total No. of Categorized Responses	Mean No. of Responses per individual	I		II		III		IV	
				Factor	*%	Factor	*%	Factor	*%	Factor	*%
Parma	100	124	1. 24	Peer Group Association	15	Quality of Teachers	11	Good Report Cards	10	Subject Matter	9
Hartsburgh	97	121	1. 25	Peer Group Association	14	Quality of Teachers	9	Subject Matter	8	a) Academic Medals b) Getting Something out of H. S. c) "Nothing" d) School Honor Soc.	5 5 5 5
Milgrim	97	115	1. 19	Peer Group Association	25	a) Quality of Teachers b) Subject Matter c) Taking Part in this investigation	9 9 9	"Nothing"	6	Academic Medals	5
Martingale	105	118	1. 12	Field Trips	10	Peer Group Association	9	a) Good Report Cards b) "Nothing" c) School Honor Soc. d) Varsity Football	7 7 7 7	a) Quality of Teachers b) Varsity Basketball	6 6
Caddo	94	134	1. 43	Good Report Cards	18	a) Peer Group Association b) Sports	13 13	a) Quality of Teachers b) Subject Matter	10 10	Coming to this School	7

Delphi	107	152	1. 42	Subject Matter	20	Peer Group Association	17	Quality of Teachers	9	a) Learning about self and people b) Good Report Cards	8 8
Havencrest	100	144	1. 44	Peer Group Association	19	Subject Matter	17	Quality of Teachers	12	Specific Academic Programs	10
Ipswich	100	153	1. 53	Coming to this School	20	a) Self realization b) Subject Matter	15 15	Quality of Teachers	11	a) Good Report Cards b) Learning to Think c) Peer Group Association	8 8 8
St. Elmo	100	150	1. 50	School Honor Society	16	Subject Matter	14	a) Accepted for Advanced Academic Program b) Varsity Football	11 11	Peer Group Association	10

* Percentage of students reporting this factor.

Table V-b: Best-Thing-Worst-Thing Test. Worst factors reported most frequently by students in the various schools studied.

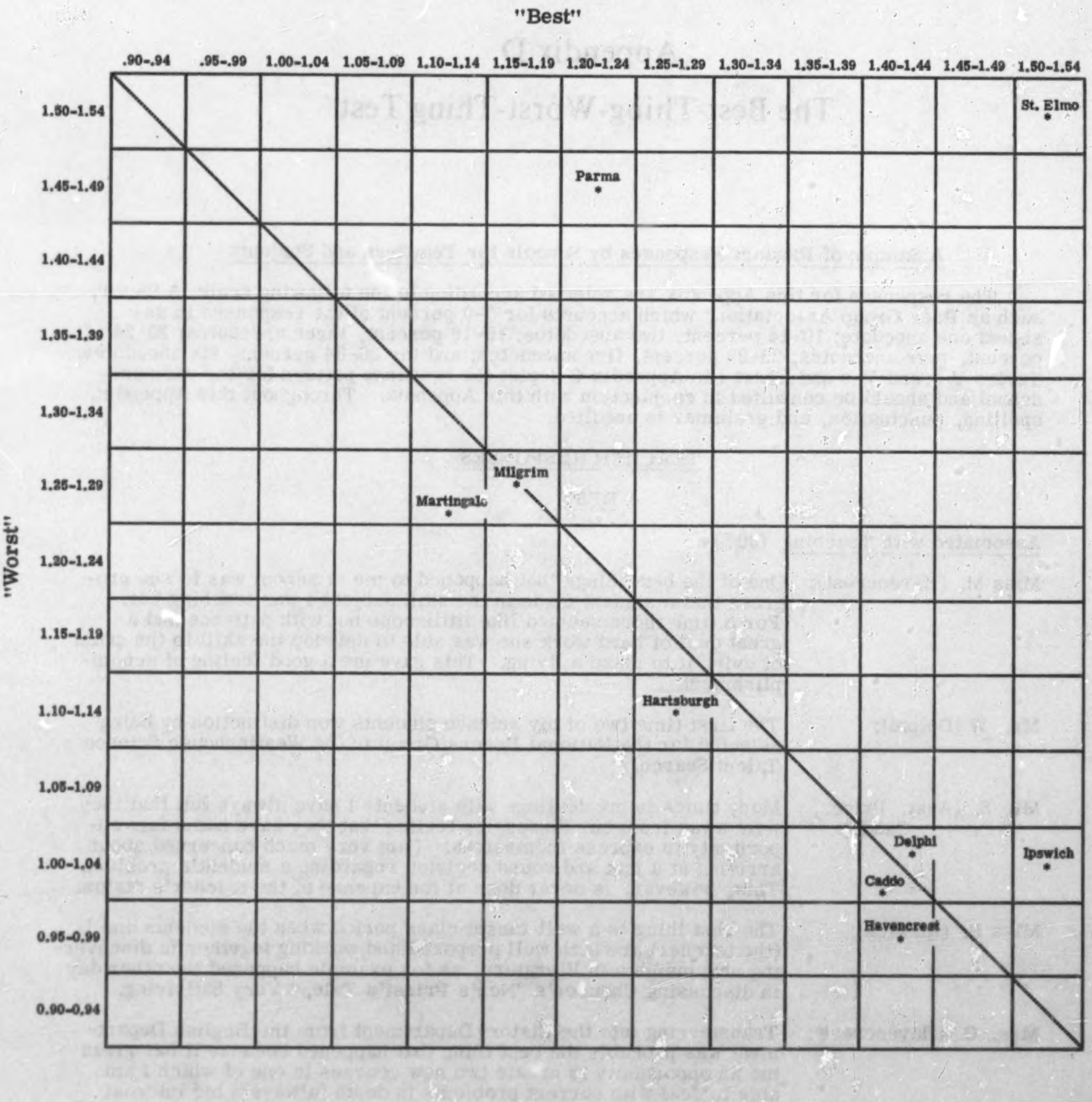
School	No. of Students Participating	Total No. of Categorized Responses	Mean No. of responses per individual	I		II		III		IV	
				Factor	* %	Factor	* %	Factor	* %	Factor	* %
Parma	100	148	1.48	Failing a Subject	16	Peer Group Disillusionment	13	Personal Embarrassment	12	Poor Report Cards	10
Hartsburgh	97	111	1.14	Peer Group Disillusionment	11	a) Failing a Subject b) Personal Embarrassment	10 10	"Nothing"	8	Unfair Accusations	7
Milgrim	97	123	1.27	a) Personal Embarrassment b) Unfair accusations by teachers	10 10	Failing a Subject	8	a) Detention b) "Nothing" c) Seeing the principal	7 7 7	a) Fear of Punishment b) Peer Group Disillusionment	6 6
Martingale	105	131	1.25	Personal Embarrassment	16	Failing a Subject	15	Seeing the Principal	10	School Fights	9
Caddo	94	97	1.03	Personal Embarrassment	19	Failing a Subject	16	"Nothing"	13	a) Detention b) Peer Group Disillusionment	7 7

Delphi	**107**	**111**	**1. 04**	**a) Failing a Subject** **b) Personal Embarrassment**	**12** **12**	**"Nothing"**	**8**	**Poor Report Cards**	**7**	**Peer Group Disillusionment**	**5**
Havencrest	**100**	**97**	**0. 97**	**"Nothing"**	**17**	**Personal Embarrassment**	**13**	**a) Failing an Assignment** **b) Failing an Exam** **c) Not understanding a subject** **d) Poor Athletic Performance** **e) Poor Guidance** **f) Poor Report Cards** **g) Poor Teaching**	**5** **5** **5** **5** **5** **5** **5**	**a) Failing a Subject** **b) Peer Group Disillusionment** **c) Suspension** **d) Verbal chastising**	**4** **4** **4** **4**
Ipswich	**100**	**103.**	**1. 03**	**a) Failing a Subject** **b) Personal Embarrassment**	**11** **11**	**"Nothing"**	**10**	**Facing Growing Up**	**9**	**"Due to own fault"**	**7**
St. Elmo	**100**	**153**	**1. 53**	**Seeing the Dean or Headmaster**	**22**	**a) Failing a Subject** **b) Poor Report Cards** **c) Verbal Chastising**	**12** **12** **12**	**"Nothing"**	**9**	**Suspension**	**8**

*** Percentage of students reporting this factor.**

CHART I

MEAN NUMBER OF POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE RESPONSES TO THE BEST–THING–WORST–THING TEST BY SCHOOLS



Appendix D

The Best-Thing-Worst-Thing Test

A Sample of Random Responses by Schools for Teachers and Students

The responses for this Appendix are selected according to the following scale: A factor, such as Peer Group Association, which accounts for 5-9 percent of the responses is assigned one anecdote; 10-14 percent, two anecdotes; 15-19 percent, three anecdotes; 20-24 percent, four anecdotes; 25-29 percent, five anecdotes; and for 30-34 percent, six anecdotes. Tables V-a and V-b and Chart I in Appendix C depict the response pattern for the various school and should be consulted in conjunction with this Appendix. Throughout this Appendix, spelling, punctuation, and grammar is unedited.

TEACHER RESPONSES

BEST

Associated with Teaching (30%)

Miss M. (Havencrest): One of the best things that happened to me at school was to see progress that a student made in the skill subject I was teaching her. For a time there seemed like little hope but with patience and a great deal of hard work she was able to develop the skill to the point of using it to make a living. This gave me a good feeling of accomplishment.

Mr. W (Delphi): The first time two of my science students won distinction by being selected for the National Honors Group in the Westinghouse Science Talent Search.

Mr. S. (Asst. Princ., Caddo): Many times in my dealings with students I have always felt that they went away from our discussion feeling that they have had a fair opportunity to express themselves. I am very much concerned about arriving at a just and sound decision regarding a student's problem. This, however, is never done at the expense of the teacher's status.

Miss B. (Ipswich): The best thing is a well-taught-class period when the students and I (the teacher) are both well prepared and working together in discovering new insights in literature, as for example happened the other day in discussing Chaucer's "Nun's Priest's Tale," Very Satisfying.

Mrs. G. (Havencrest): Transferring into the History Department from the English Department was probably the best thing that happened because it has given me an opportunity to create two new courses in one of which I am able to deal with current problems in depth (always a big interest with me). In American Studies I use literature as well as history, and I love literature. I gained confidence in my teaching ability and learned I could experiment with methods, materials, and class organization. This has transferred to my regular American history classes. I love to see students grow intellectually and in other ways, too.

Honors and Recognition (25%)

Mr. D. (Martingale): I was granted a scholarship to college.

Mr. M. (Hartsburgh): I received the 4 year mathematics prize at the commencement exercises. It gave me a feeling of pride, accomplishment, and satisfaction.

Mr. B. (Milgrim): When my mathematics teacher singled me out for a special commendation in front of the class because I figured out a new way of approaching an algebra problem. This was 35 years ago - I forget the minor details.

Mr. G. (Havencrest): I think perhaps it was when I received notice that I had been awarded a scholarship to attend the State University as a member of the band. This was the culmination of 6 years of high school music work and I knew this was the major step to fulfilling my dream of becoming a band director. College changed things -- I now teach Russian language.

Quality of Teachers (13%)

Miss M. (Parma): The best thing that ever happened to me in high school was having fine teachers - one in particular - who influenced my future, my profession, and, therefore, my life.

Mr. T. (Ipswich): Having the privilege of knowing through four years, a devoted, unselfish, animated English teacher. This teacher was a good teacher who vitalized her subject, but more important, had a deep and sympathetic interest in each student.

Athletics (11%)

Mr. W. (Caddo): Running 95 yards to score the winning touchdown against our high school's arch rival.

Miss B. (Havencrest): This is the first thing that comes to my mind - certainly the most exciting afternoon of my high school years. I was not adept at team sports, although I tried. Our school was one of two girls schools with varsity lacrosse teams, and naturally the day of the big match drew a large crowd. I was merely a substitute end, one of several, but an hour before the game I was told that I was to play. I did-, we won (not through any feat of mine), and success was sweet and thrilling.

TEACHER RESPONSES

WORST

Associated with Teaching (19%)

Fr. F. (St. Elmo): Failures (academic or personal) of students with whom I worked long and hard!

Mr. E. (Havencrest): When I first started teaching I taught English, Chemistry, biology and social studies --- all at the same time. It was impossible. A teacher needs to specialize on the high school level.

Miss A (Delphi): A class of low students that is too large to teach successfully.

Academic Failure (13%)

Mr. M. (Hartsburgh): I failed on one Latin report card mark. It occurred during my sophomore year.

Mr. B. (Martingale): I did not receive the scholarship I thought I deserved.

Punishment (11%)

Mr. C. (Parma): The worst thing that ever happened to me in high school was when one of the instructors slapped my face for objecting too strongly against one of his certain punitive tactics. The worst part was the embarrassment caused due to the fact that I was with my friends. We both apologized afterward.

Mr. S. (Hartsburgh): I had few "bad" things happen to me in high school, but I do remember feeling resentment toward group punishment. Once, everyone had to write, "I must not talk in class," one thousand times.

Personal-Social Embarrassment (11%)

Mr. H. (Caddo): Speaking before an assembly and having my voice crack at the critical line or point.

Mr. M. (St. Elmo): I was embarrassed in front of others because I didn't know something or hadn't studied or got bad marks.

Academic Difficulties (9%)

Mr. D. (Delphi): Being ruled ineligible for Athletic Competition because of grades.

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PARMA - BEST

Peer Group Association (15%)

Mr. R: I met a wonderful girl and asked her to go steady.

Mr. F: The best thing is when I moved here and made good friends quickly. I got into the right group and met the right girls. I got accepted very quickly and am making out good.

Miss S: One of the best things that ever happened to me was in 9th grade when I was put into classes with such terrific kids in them. Being with people one enjoys can make one a lot happier than any one single event, because it is long lasting. Having good friends makes me more secure, and is one of the best things that could ever happen to me.

Quality of Teachers (11%)

Mr. W: I believe that the best thing that ever happened to me in High School was having Miss Perry as my Biology teacher. She opened a whole world of things around me and showed how I could use the things I learned in everyday life. She made her subject enjoyable and other subjects more enjoyable to me by teaching you how to enjoy your work.

Miss R: I suppose to describe my emotions one would believe them childish and imature but as far as the best of all things was the day I met Mr. Mann. I suppose he's my idol because what he is ... I want to be. I know you're not supposed to act like that to a teacher but as far as I'm concerned he's great. Not only does he excel in his field of teaching of which I hope to attain as he has in Math but each child, Student or hood is considered by him to be equal no matter what his reputation may have been beforehand. Foolish teenage problems are treated with utmost care. He's the best and I want to be just like him when I myself begin to teach.

Good Report Cards (10%)

Mr. M: The best thing that ever happened to me was when I received a 94 on the Amer. History Quarterly. Before this I had a 73 average, this pulled my mark from a C to a B. I had the highest mark in all five of Mr. Dominick's classes this for me is pretty good considering I only studied one hour for test.

Mr. G: Last year, during the first quarter in school, I decided to work hard on my grades. I didn't really put myself out, but I worked very hard. I kept getting very good marks on all my Tests and finally, report cards were issued. I received three A's, one A +, and one B+. This gave me a great deal of self-satisfaction and I was very happy.

Subject Matter (9%)

Miss L: I decided to take Biology instead of Health. I think Biology is very interesting you learn all about whats going on around you, and how people like yourself tick.

PARMA - WORST

Failing a Subject (16%)

Mr. O: The worst thing that happened to me in high school is the flunking of Spanish.

Mr. F: The worst thing that ever happened to me in High School was flunking Chemistry. I had already passed it in private school, then taking it over I flunk.

Miss B: I think the worst thing to happen is when I failed a math test, last year. Practically half the class failed it. I was so brokenup I burst into tears and was reprimanded by my teacher. After that I never failed another test, and have been doing well. But I'll never forget that test.

Peer Group Disillusionment (13%)

Miss P: Nothing really bad has ever happened to me while I have been at Parma. Perhaps the event that gave me the worst feeling was one that occurred this past year. One of Parma's top students; a very pretty, popular girl, got into "trouble." Until this time many of my friends and I held her in great esteem; in fact almost to the point of idolization.
My faith in the student body of Parma was a little shaken after this news to say the least. This event made me see only more clearly that bad points of our community and to realize the need of certain changes.

Mr. K: I happen to be taking chemistry now. Our guidance office here also happens to be pretty unintelligent, but maybe it isn't all their fault. Anyway, they stuck in our chem class a couple of real jackasses - problem children who make it very hard on the rest of the class and the teacher. Not long ago the teacher was in a car accident and was out for a couple of weeks with a head injury. We were told that he'd need as much quiet as possible when he returned. The very thought of him coming back to these clods who he has to shout at all period just disgusted me.

Personal Embarrassment (12%)

Mr. M: Having to give a Book report without read a book.

Miss C: The worst thing that ever happened to me in high school was when I had to make a Social Studies report and I was so nervous I started crying. This happened because I really wasn't prepared and nothing made any sense. I have one night to prepare it in and had a big test the period before and was going to have another one the next period. It was too much tension.

Poor Report Cards (10%)

Miss J: The worst thing that ever happened to me is report card day. I dread it every time it comes around.

Miss H: The worst thing that happened to me was last quarter's report card. For the first time in my life I got a C+ and a C. It was terrible and I felt really horrible and hated to show my parents.

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HARTSBURGH - BEST

Peer Group Association (14%)

Mr. R: The best thing that ever happened to me in High School was that I made new friends and meet new people. Meeting new people is fascinating and most of the people in this school are very nice including the teachers.

Mr. G: By meeting different people and having friends who enjoy having fun with you during free time.

Quality of Teachers (9%)

Miss M: The best thing that ever happened to me was My English Teacher this year. She has made me think and try to comprehend things that seemed vague and uninteresting. I feel that she has actually made me a better person.

Subject Matter (8%)

Mr. H: The best thing was the introduction, through classes, of the vast fields of knowledge and learning available. The history of literature and backgrounds in science, math and foreign languages are the most stimulating things that I have met in high school.

Awards and Medals (5%)

Mr. M: Probably the best thing that ever happened in high school was my induction to the National Honor Society. I had an idea I was going to be selected but I was not entirely sure. When my suspicions were confirmed I was very very happy and proud to say the least.

"Getting Something Out of High School" (5%)

Mr. P: I am an active member of the traffic squad, one of the four Lieutenants. Being on the squad has done a great deal to mold my future convictions and morals. I have been put in the position as to judge which will I hold in greater stead - my friends or morals and principles. It has made me a great deal more mature and rational than I would have been.

"Nothing" (5%)

Mr. B: Nothing ever good happened to me in High School.

School Honor Society (5%)

Mr. G: I think the best thing was when I started getting on the Honor Roll and being close to my teachers. The other kids started to be more a part of me and I was learning to have a real great time with all of them.

HARTSBURGH - WORST

Peer Group Disillusionment (11%)

Mr. H: The worst thing was the realization of all the lack of enthusiasm that exists in most of the students.

Miss L: I moved here . . . & met the kids.

Failing a Subject (10%)

Miss N: The worst thing that ever happened to me is when I failed my geometry the first quarter. It really upset me but the second quarter I brought it up to a c average & now its even higher, but it still disturbs me.

Mr. H: The terrible report card I'm getting this time. I'm going to get killed when I bring it home.

Personal Embarrassment (10%)

Mr. T: The worst thing that ever happened to me in this school was when a teacher scolded me in front of many of my friends. If he would of brought me to the side it wouldn't have been bad.

Miss Z: Getting insulted and blamed in front of everyone - for something that wasn't my fault.

"Nothing" (8%)

Miss S: Nothing in particular.

Unfair Accusations (7%)

Miss S: Being accused of something (smoking) when the teacher didn't really know if you were or not and then being suspended for it because the teacher wouldn't admit she was wrong.

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MILGRIM - BEST

Peer Group Association (25%)

Mr. L: The day I asked this girl to go with me. I felt like a king.

Miss H: The best thing that happened to me in this school is that I met a lot of new friends. I used to have quite a few but not the kind in this school. They seem to be more fun to be with. Most of the new friends are guys.

Miss A: One of the best things that ever happened to me in here, was when I met some of the kids, especially the rough ones, I find them to be my best, & truest friends. Second was the Junior Christmas Cottilion.

Mr. P: The best thing that ever happened to me at Milgrim High is my meeting new people. Friends I have acquired have given me more enjoyment and fun than anything else. I think that the people hear are the nicest I have ever known, and that anybody I meet will be just as nice as them.

Miss G: The best thing that ever happened to me in high school was I finally found the kind of friends that I would want to be with for the rest of my high school years. When I met the people who really were the type of people to be with in school, to walk with in the halls, to eat lunch with, and to be with after school. I met the kind of girl friends you can trust and tell your problems to, the kind of boys that are wonderful and always respect your ideas and are fun to go on dates with. Now I am very happy, even when I have problems because I will always have these friends who will never leave you flat and will always be there to help you.

Quality of Teachers (9%)

Miss B: The best thing that ever happen to me was, how the guidance teacher helped me pick out my course of study. By this I mean my career. As being a air line steward.

Subject Matter (9%)

Mr. B: Just about the best thing that ever happen to me was to find I like Bio & other sciences.

Taking Research Test (9%)

Miss P: The only thing nice which has happened to me was to take this test.

"Nothing" (6%)

Mr. A: I can't say anything really great happened because I think students in this school are treated to much like babies, and only a choice few ever get to do anything good.

Medals and Awards (5%)

Mr. H: The best thing that ever happened to me at Milgrim High was finding out I had won an award for scholastic ability. It made me feel that I had something on the ball mentally. I had won awards for physical activities such as letters in sports but this was something new. It made me feel good to know I had something on the ball.

MILGRIM - WORST

Personal Embarrassment (10%)

Mr. S: Being I was laughed at because I wore different clothes than the other kids.

Mr. M: Well I was walking down the hall and I slip and fell in front of the crowd and they started to laugh.

Unfair Accusations (10%)

Miss C: When I failed history on my last marking period after I tried so hard to pass. But it wasn't bad enough after trying so hard having your teacher tell you that you didn't make any effort to pass.

Miss M: The worst thing that happened to me was when I was accused of forging a teachers name. One of the girls who works in the office signed it for me, but we couldn't find it. The principal was going to give me my dismissal papers. But we finally found the girl and she admitted signing the pass for me. I would call all the worrying I did about that the worse thing that ever happened to me.

Failing a Subject (8%)

Mr. S: Can't get any higher in world history class & just keep failing test. It get pretty Bad after a while.

Detention (7%)

Mr. R: Perhaps the worst thing that ever happened to me come about when I was in my third year of high school. I was in the Chem Prep room upstairs mixing a little NH4i more commonly known as Ammonium Iodide). When it exploded and tore a nice hole in my hand & made a(n) explosion which could be heard all over the top floor of the school. For this little accident Plus a few other factors which are personal, I was nearly suspended but got off easy with a few months detention thanks to my Good Record. This is probably the worst thing that ever happened to me & now I am truly sorry for it.

"Nothing" (7%)

Miss H: I've only been in the high school for a year. In this short period of time if some of the things that have happened are the best, I'd hate to even think about the worst. Nothing even good has happened this year so I couldn't name the best.

Seeing the Principal (7%)

Mr. M: When I got caught smoking in the Boys room. I got sent to the principals office and they called my mother and father and told them.

Fear of Punishment (6%)

Miss C: When I was late for one of my classes and I didn't have an excuse to tell the teacher why I had no pass.

Peer Group Disillusionment (6%)

Mr. S: When I was a freshman in high school I had to ride a bus to school. It was the accepted custom to tantalize and antagonize the new freshman. A Senior took my shoes and I was unable to fight back because of the backing he had. This incident irritated me beyond belief.

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MARTINGALE - BEST

Field Trips (10%)

Miss H: I think the best thing that ever happen to me was when I went with my history club to Washington D. C. It was very exciting and I could do it all over again.

Mr. K: The best thing that has ever happened to me was, the various trip that we took in high school, to the different places of interest, museums, historical places and monuments.

Peer Group Association (9%)

Miss C: I met a lot of new friends, and people I like.

Good Report Cards (7%)

Miss R: The best thing that happened to me in High School is last year when I passed all my subjects in June. The reason I consider it the best thing is because I had to go to summer school two years ago and I couldn't stand it.

"Nothing" (7%)

Miss F: Nothing good ever happened to me in High School!

School Honor Society (7%)

Miss G: The best thing that ever happened to me so far in High School is the time I got on the Honor Roll. It made me feel very proud and my parents also. I will try as hard as I can to keep up my work & try to get to be a Navy Nurse.

Varsity Football (7%)

Mr. F: The best thing that happened to me was when I made first string on the football team.

Quality of Teachers (6%)

Miss B: My teachers are the best thing that happen to me. I want a teacher that will make me work. I also would like a teacher I will respect and that will teach me some. Good teacher is the best thing that happen to anyone.

Varsity Basketball (6%)

Mr. C: I feel that the best thing ever to happen to me in high school is the time when I made 1st string on the Basketball team. This gave me a good feeling and made me have some importance in High school.

MARTINGALE - WORST

Personal Embarrassment (16%)

Miss M: One day when I came into science class I was ask a question and I did not know it. The boy I like was in my class and the teacher made me look so dumb that I just cryed and every one was laughing at me.

Miss S: When I fell down the stairs.

Mr. J: The worst thing that ever happen to me was when I fell in school and twisted my ankel. I was unable to go to school for a week and when I come back to school every one was laughing at me.

Failing a Subject (15%)

Mr. W. I can only say, that the worst thing that ever happen was the year, I failed plane Geometry and tried to make it up in summer school an still couldnt obtain the few more points to pass.

Miss R: When I study so hard to pass a test. I failed it.

Miss C: When I failed my first subject. I felt as if I was getting worse instead of bettering myself.

Seeing the Principal (10%)

Mr. B: The worst thing that happened to me was when they found out that I cut out with the boy's and had a good time when I got into school they told me that they were going to suspend me for a month. And there was another when I was sent down the office 5 times in one day.

Miss M: The worst thing that ever happen to me in high school was when I got sent down to the office for something I didn't do.

School Fights (9%)

Mr. S: The worst thing that ever happen in our school was when our school had a fight against another school.

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CADDO-BEST

Good Report Cards (18%)

Miss S: The best thing that happened to me in high school was when I got my last report card. I'm new in this school and before I come here I got some marks. I mean 20, 30, 40, on my report card. The school I went to before failed me in everything so I said "the heck with it, why should I work". I wasn't going to do anything, and I didn't. Then we moved to Caddo and I started using my brain. Now I'm in all college classes and my lowest mark last time was 75 and my highest 94. So I'd say the best thing that happens to me was coming here and starting to use my head.

Mr. U: The best thing that ever happened to me in high school was passing all of my subjects and never getting a failing grade.

Miss P: The best thing was that I got a ninety in W. History on my report card. I was so glad that I could have told everybody about it. This was my highest mark since I started high school. The funny thing is that I had to go to summer school, the year before, for the same teacher that gave me a 90 this year.

Peer Group Association (13%)

Mr. E: The best thing that happened to me in high school was when I started to get into a crowd or clique. Before this I never really had any friends to do anything with. I would always have to do things alone. Now everything is fine. I have more friends that I ever had and I'm having more fun too.

Miss H: No one thing is the best thing that ever happened to me. In high school I made a lot of good friends. Had a lot of good times with them. I don't think I'll ever look back on Caddo and be sorry I went there.

Sports (13%)

Mr. P: I can't point out any one thing but there are several things such as receiving a School Letter for participating in Sports - etc.

Miss S: The best thing that ever happened to me in high school was when I started going out for after school sports. I got to know more girls in the school and had fun playing games on their teams. I learned more about the sports I participated in, which makes the games more fun. I feel sports gave me a stronger school spirit. By going out for sports I was encouraged to join Leader's Corp. which I joined this year.

Quality of Teachers (10%)

Mr. G: The Best thing that happen to me is to get such good teachers.

Mr. A: The best thing that ever happened to me in high school was that I was instructed to take a language. Therefore, I picked Spanish, as I had heard it was the easiest, but I realized that it wasn't going to be so bad because I had received, what I considered, the best teacher I have ever had. He always explained various problems extremely well, so that everyone could understand the course.

Subject Matter (10%

Mr. S: The best thing that ever happened to me in High school was when we saw a movie about the Universe in General Science class. I learned a lot from it and I also enjoyed myself.

Mr. R: The best thing that ever happened to me occurred when my English teacher suggested we forget about English homework for a while and read some book we've wanted to read. Since then my attitude toward Literature has improved and I have a better, more realistic outlook on life.

Coming to this School (7%)

Miss B: The best thing that ever happened to me in high school was being able to attend Caddo High School.

CADDO - WORST

Personal Embarrassment (19%)

Miss S: The worst thing that ever happened to me in high school was when I fainted while giving a report in front of my World Geography class in ninth grade. It was an embarrassing experience. I felt I never wanted to go back in that class again. I had always been nervous in that class for some reason but when I had to speak in front of the class it seemed as if my nerves just colapsed.

Mr. L: The time I was supposed to give a speech in front of the class and when I got up to speak I was "tongue tied" and couldn't say a word.

Miss T: The worst thing that ever happened to me is when I triped down the steps in the bus. I never felt so humiliated in all my life. Especially when everyone looks at you. I felt so stupid and embarrassed. All my knee was cut and I ripped my skirt and the teachers had to help me into the nurses office. I don't think I ever experienced anything like it so far.

Failing a Subject (16%)

Mr. S: The worst thing that ever happened in high school was when I failed Earth Science the first marking period. I failed it the other 3 times and my mother yelled at me and told me to get on the ball.

Mr. A: The worst thing that happened to me was when I found out I failed Biology.

Miss O: The worst thing that ever happened to me in high school was that I failed Algebra during the school year, and so I took it up in Summer School, and I failed it again, it almost seems impossible for me to pass it.

"Nothing" (13%)

Mr. M: I'm sorry I can't answer the above question. All my days in high school have been happy ones.

Miss D: I entirely hope that this statement does not sound too foolish, but there has never been any occasion in which something bad has occurred to me.

Detention (7%)

Mr. G: The only time I have got detention was because some kid throw a apple as I walk into the class. And I caught it so I didn't want to get caught with it so I throw it back. But the kid did not catch it and it hit the window. She ask who did it so I told her. And she sent me down the office.

Peer Group Disillusionment (7%)

Miss I: Actually, I feel I've been very lucky because nothing really bad has ever happened to me. The only incident I could consider is a "dirty" note I found in my locker and upon taking it to a faculty member the matter was cleared up. Although, I must admit, looking back I did think at the time, it was a pretty rotten thing for any student to do.

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DELPHI - BEST

Subject Matter (20%)

Mr. A: The best thing that ever happened to me was the recognition of the importance of studies as opposed to popularity and having a good time. This occurred at the end of my sophomore year. I now realize that more enjoyment can be found by academic facilities rather than in "having a good time."

Mr. B: The best thing that ever happened to me in high school was finding out that doing a real good job on a project could really be fun. Finding out that doing a project well was satisfying and could really get you interested in a subject. Finding out that bringing home a good report card was really satisfying.

Miss C: The best thing I ever did was start taking Art in school because I have always been interested in it and painting allows me to express myself. Also it allows some enjoyment and a change from regular school work; although with all my academic responsibilities, I don't find as much time as I would like for my painting.

Miss H: An English Class - Wherein you were allowed to express your ideas and learn how the same things affected people years ago. We did this by literature exploration. And we also learned reasons for the events and feeling behind the actions. But most of all the importance and freedom of individuality.

Peer Group Association (17%)

Miss H: The first time people recognized me in the halls between classes and said hello.

Miss L: The best thing that happened to me in High School has been happening all three years. I used to be a shy and self conscous child before high school. However, the whole idea of high school has made me loose this shyness & I have learned to make new friends easily, and how to get along with them better.

Mr. W: I met many wonderful people, but one especially. A girl named Mary.

Quality of Teachers (9%)

Mr. B: In tenth grade I started a Biology course. The teacher was wrapped up in his teaching and demanded a lot of the students. The half-formed idea I had had about entering Medicine was now completed. This teacher caused me to realize what I wanted and pushed me into more and better work.

Learning About Self and People (8%)

Miss H: I think the best thing that has happened to me is being able to know many different people and just being here to enjoy the fun and worries of being in high school. Also the accomplishment of doing well in school goes along with this. I have learned many things about people and I know better now what kind of a person I want to be.

Good Report Cards (8%)

Miss H: I've had many good experiences in high school but none of them particularly stand out in my mind. I suppose the best thing that happened was getting a very good report card. I felt that I earned it and it gave me a feeling of accomplishment.

DELPHI - WORST

Failing a Subject (12%)

Miss L: The worst thing that ever Happened to me was my failing Algebra I in the 9th grade, because of my laziness.

Mr. T: The worst thing that ever happened to me in High School was failing a Spanish class.

Personal Embarrassment (12%)

Miss K: When you get behind in a subject and by trying to learn more about it, fall down in the other subjects and really get lost! Also when someone mentions something about something your're wearing; and your self concious about it for the rest of the day. Also coming to school with dirty hair and feeling inferior all day. When a teacher criticizes you for not knowing an answer, or when he makes fun of your answer to the rest of the class and then makes you go to the board to do a problem you don't even know how to start!

Miss T: Being made fun of on something I couldn't help and flunking one of my classes.

"Nothing" (8%)

Miss R: I really can't think of anything absolutely terrible that's happened to me but I'll write about an inconvenience. Last winter, when it was so cold, the bus came 1-1/2 hours late. When we finally arrived at school, we were half frozen and very embarrassed.

Poor Report Cards (7%)

Mr. D: The worst thing that happened to me so far is receiving my last report card and seeing my first D, which I received in history. The move which our family made last year hurt my grades a little but I was still terribly dissappointed in myself for receiving the D.

Peer Group Disillusionment (5%)

Miss D: The worst thing that happened to me was finding out that some of my best friends drink & smoke. When this happens I feel that my relation should lessen so I can save my reputation.

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HAVENCREST - BEST

Peer Group Association (19%)

Mr. S: Probably the best thing that happened to me was in the 11th grade. That year I was fortunate enough to be able to keep in my home, the foreign exchange student from Japan.
I learned a great deal about the differences of our two countries, and also about us. It was a great experience.

Miss B: I met a boy who made me realize that life just wasn't going to work for me all the time. He quieted me down so I'm not quite so loud. He taught me to respect other people and their ideas. Never be mean to somebody you don't really like.
I learned that I can't always have my way and all of my life I will have to make decisions. Never judge anyone before you know them personally. Life is what you make it and it's your decision.

Miss T: I think its when I started hanging around with Susie. 'Cause then I got to know Johnny. In the morning I'll go all the way over to the 1st wing just to see Johnny. Susie's got her 1st period over next to his room. Then I'll run all the way back to the 3rd wing in order to get in before the bell. It gives you a good feeling to know that you belong to a crowd. Mine is the biggest and I talk to everybody instead of being choosy. I think its really sharp the way Haven Hi lets the girls come to school with boys in cars and leave that way. They don't think kids smoking is indecent eitha!

Subject Matter (17%)

Mr. H: Having Mech. Drawing. I learned all about all types of screws and nuts and bolts, the different threds uses ect. Also I learned to draw all types of things accurately, like boats and houses ect.

Miss S: The best thing that has happened to me since I have been in high school, was to be picked by our chorus director for Concert Choir. Concert Choir is the main musical group, beside our band, in school; and you have to be a very good singer to be chosen. I deeply love music and I am very glad I was chosen for Concert Choir.

Miss C: When I was "tapped" to join Beta Club. When I made an "A" in English.
When I thought I was in love.
Very happy.
Whenever I feel as if I'm really learning something or an entirely new thought is presented to me.

Quality of Teachers (12%)

Mr. Y: About the best that ever happened to me in school is that in my sophomore year I had a really good physics, electronics and history teacher. These teachers helped me a great deal and stimulated me in these areas.

Miss H: The best thing that ever happened to me was I learned to speak up in class. I would always be afraid to ask a question or answer any. The teachers make it so easy for you to talk to them.

Specific Academic Programs (10%)

Mr. H: When I got into Auto Mech and joined the tec club.

Miss H: The best thing that ever happened to me in high school was the day they started phased classes.

HAVENCREST - WORST

"Nothing" (17%)

Miss Mc: I have had a nice time in this school and everything has worked out fine for me.

Mr. S: Nothing ever happened to me that bad

Mr. W: Nothing really disasterous has happened to me as yet. Knock on wood.

Personal Embarrassment (13%)

Miss F: When I went to the wrong room and was late for the right class

Miss M: I really cannot say . . . I am one of those people who live in the midst of a vague reality (I am not schizophrenic!) so that every miserable happening in my life is soon forgotten (supposedly). I believe my most embarrassing moments (should I say horrid?) are when I am called upon to say something, give a report, etc. Last year in Biology I rather lost my nerve during one of those said happenings.

Failing an Assignment (5%)

Miss J: The teacher told us to write a page about something, but since I wrote very small I only had about two-thirds of a page. I received a low grade because I didn't have a full page. Ever since that incident, I have been writing larger.

Failing An Exam (5%)

Mr. F: I failed a 6 weeks in geometry by just plain goofing off. This shows up bad on my records and I got punished when I got home.

Not Understanding A Subject (5%)

Miss F: Not being able to comprehend Geometry as I would have liked. I liked it but could never make higher than a B or understand it very well. My B was really luck.

Poor Athletic Performance (5%)

Miss B: I was pitcher of the softball team and we lost.

Poor Program Guidance (5%)

Miss M: The worst thing that ever happened to me was that I wasn't allowed to take Typing I in my sophomore year but I did take Shorthand I. This meant I had to wait an extra year before Shorthand II. This makes it difficult.

Poor Report Cards (5%)

Miss D: Receiving a bad report card is about the worst thing I can think of that has happened to me.

Poor Teaching (5%)

Miss T: Well sometimes a teacher tries to act as though you shouldn't waste their precious time in class with a question. I've told 2 teachers off for that already. They can be funny but not act like Dictator Krusheff or something!

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IPSWICH - BEST

Coming to This School (20%)

Mr. S: I think that being able to attend a private school without being a boarding student is really terrific. The classes are small, the kids more friendly. You don't find the hood of the public school.

Miss K: The best thing that ever happened to me was that my parents took me out of the terrible conditions that prevailed in public school. Here at Ipswich, I can be myself without being criticized. It has given me the opportunity to become open minded and to understand all types of people and be able to live with them. I have begun to develope my basic principles, and along with the prementioned statements, I feel capable of "standing on my own two feet."

Mr. R: The best thing that ever happened to me in high school was being accepted here.

Mr. F: COMING to Ipswich was, I think, the best thing that has ever happened to me in High School. Before that time, my attitude toward school was poor, and my grades were poor too. Now both have improved.

Self-Realization (15%)

Mr. W: The best thing that ever happened to me at Ipswich is that I have learned how to do things for myself. These things include studying and thinking.
The process of learning to do things for myself has come gradually during the four years that I have been here. The general attitude of the school has forced me to develop an ability to think and study for myself.

Mr. S: I GREW UP (more or less)

Miss B: Finding myself and other people was by far the best thing that has happened to me so far in school.
The other people I have really "found" are my very close friends who mean a great deal to me and it is these people who also have helped me to find myself. By finding myself I mean becoming an individual who knows what she wants from life and having the courage to be myself. These are not isolated events but rather ones that have occured over a period of years.

Subject Matter (15%)

Miss H: I like the Conference on Russia we had two years ago. I thought the Speakers were excellent-they seemed to be interested in what they were doing. Also they seemed to know a great deal about their subjects - thus they were quite stimulating to hear. I also liked it because I felt that it was of world-wide importance - (what was being discussed) - more alive than what is normal here.

Mr. T: The writing of a term paper on Martin Luther in which I really got involved and enjoyed working on and on which I got an A. I state this because I have been in high school for only half a year.

Mr. S: I think that the best thing that happened to me here was being introduced to the writing of Philosophers. This opened a new world of thought to me.
My English teacher gave out books by Bertrand Russel called Problems of Philosophy. In this book I found questions on what Truth, and matter actually were.

It filled me with new questions and I have enjoyed greatly trying to think out answers.

Quality of Teachers (11%)

Mr. A: A teacher here in my sophomore and junior year was the best thing that ever happened to me. He and his wife were the most understanding and level-headed people that I have ever met. They understood my problems and helped me to solve them.

Mr. K: Meeting Mr. Swiss and being in his English class was the best thing that has happened to me in high school. He is a very hard teacher, who makes a student work and think, but you know that you are learning something. A student may get to hate him as a person, for making their life miserable, but in the long run they will feel that they have benefited from him and learned a great deal.

Good Report Cards (8%)

Mr. W: The best thing that happened to me in high school was achieving an A in biology for one marking period. I had been working hard but it didn't seem likely that I would achieve it. However I did, and it left me extremely satisfied.

Learning to Think (8%)

Miss L: The first thing that comes to my mind is that I have learned to think and plan things before I go into them. I can reason things out now. The teachers have helped me do so.

My social life has improved also. I have become quieter and more lady like. My class participation is growing from nothing to something. This is the most important thing that has happened in my first year of high school.

Peer Group Association (8%)

Miss H: Meeting other girls and boys with different opinions and ideas has helped to eliminate many types of prejudices and has been very rewarding.

IPSWICH - WORST

Failing a Subject (11%)

Miss W: The worst thing that ever happened to me in high school happened here at Ipswich. Everything was quite new to me. My subjects were much more difficult and more challenging. I seemed to have a hard time with Latin in particular. My first marking period I received a "D". This was a real shock and it worried me quite a bit. *I now know the feeling my other classmates had when they were doing poorly* in a subject.

Miss H: When I failed Geometry, I felt very bad. I had however, expected it to happen but kept hoping I'd be wrong. I repeated it the next year and passed. I felt the other kids would make fun of me but they didn't.

Personal Embarrassment (11%)

Mr. C: The most embarrassing thing that has happened to me in high school took place when I was taking attendance during seventh period. I knocked on the door of a classroom and the teacher said that all his pupils were present. He then asked me into the classroom so that he could return a book to me which he had borrowed earlier in the day. I left the door open and went to get the book. While I was getting it, the door swung shut. When I turned around to leave, I ran smack into the door.

Mr. D: I am the type of person that says what I feel. That is one of my shortcomings. The worst thing that has ever happened to me has happened time and again. I say whatever I want about the situation at hand no matter what it is. It has embarrassed me quite a few times not to mention the feelings of others that I have hurt.

"Nothing" (10%)

Miss S: Even if I think deeply, I can not think of anything that has happened that is even on the bad side of good.

Mr. M: I am sorry but I can't think of anything that ever went wrong and nothing bad ever happened. I have never gotten in trouble and I have always got along with the students.

Facing Growing Up (9%)

Mr. M: The feeling that I have now left home and am on my way out of the jurisdiction of my parents, and must now learn to face the outside world.

Due to "Own Fault" (7%)

Mr. B: The worst thing that ever happened to me was failing Algebra II my sophomore year. The fault was my own but it put pressure on me towards the number of credits I'll need for graduation.

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ST. ELMO - BEST

School Honor Society (16%)

Mr. S: On "Undergraduate Convocation Day" (the day the underclassmen are "promoted" and honors are given out). I received my senior ring and key (the symbol of the honor society in the school). This was the best day because I achieved two goals; I became a senior at St. Elmos and a member of the honor society.

Mr. C: I was accepted into Elmo's honor society at the end of my sophomore year.

Mr. M: The time I merited honors was the best thing that happened to me. It gave me a sense of accomplishment and a victory for self prestige.

Subject Matter (14%)

Mr. H: I think the best thing that ever happened to me in high school was that for the first time I started to think seriously about anything at all.

Mr. P: The thing at St. Elmo that has happened to me is the challenge of the work.

Accepted for Advanced Academic Program (11%)

Mr. K: Getting into St. Elmo was the best thing, but I guess while I'm in it the best thing that ever happened was getting into the Greek Honors Course. Then, getting good teachers is important, I think. Making 3 Varsity Teams I also enjoy(ed).

Mr. M: The best thing that ever happened to me was the honor of being put into the honor class in 2nd year.

Varsity Football (11%)

Mr. G: My winning the (football) "Sideliner's Award" for "most potential as a sophomore." This was really a big thrill, it got me started as a pretty popular guy, when I thought that I was just some little unknown. I got the plaque at the football players dinner and I was mighty proud.

Mr. D: While playing on the Football team I had an off day. The coach put me on the sideline and gave me a tongue lashing. I felt pretty low, later I was put back in scrimage. The first two plays came right to me. I stopped them cold. I felt real good inside because I knew all along that I was capable of what the coach thought I wasn't.

Peer Group Association (10%)

Mr. B: The best thing that happened to me is that I met many people who are different than myself. They come from different backgrounds and live in different places. The people themselves are great and I'm glad to have known many of them.

Mr. O': I have no "best thing". I could mention, though, what I have discovered as a very pleasant generality. This is the friendship that has formed between many persons whom I would have never known existed if it weren't for ST. ELMOS.

ST. ELMO - WORST

Seeing the Headmaster (22%)

Mr. G: When I did lousy in my freshman year I was forced to come in every Monday during the summer to see the headmaster. Although it helped me I hated it.

Mr. C: The worst thing that ever happened was fooling around so much in class that I had to be sent to the headmaster and given a talking to and a few threats.

Mr. D: When I had to go see the headmaster because I did not say that I had done 3 hours homework on the report card.

Mr. C: The time when I got indefinite headmaster's jug and almost got suspended for being a member of a rifle club which had not been approved as a school activity by the headmaster.

Failing a Subject (12%)

Mr. R: The worst thing that ever happened to me in this high school was when I failed Latin and had a terrible average. This caused me to be put off the swimming team and put out of my science course. I t would have made me leave my friends from my good class of 2B.

Mr. C: The worst thing that ever happened to me is when I found out I was being dropped from the Chem. course because I flunked Math and French although I got a 95 in Chem.

Poor Report Cards (12%)

Mr. D: I get lousy marks and my parents get mad and we have fights because of it. The teachers give you a hard time and you feel lousy because of it.

Mr. M: As a freshman I was deeply discouraged by the fact that I only got an 80 average for the second marking period.

Verbal Chastising (12%)

Mr. H: Failing Latin in first month of fourth year and having to report for an interview with the headmaster and his telling me that I am a fake, lazy, etc.

Mr. R: Being called up to the headmaster's office to be chewed out and threatened for bad marks. I wasn't able to defend myself in the least.

"Nothing" (9%)

Mr. C:

Mr. De:

Suspension (8%)

Mr. A: The worst thing that ever happened was when I was suspended for the long hair and short pants.

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